The Outlook

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THE STORY OF THE WAR: THE LUSITANIA "SETTLEMENT"

It is announced from Washington that Germany and the United States have reached an agreement for a settlement of the Lusitania controversy. It is understood that this agreement will be reached through a formal note signed by the German Foreign Minister, Herr von Jagow, and its formal acceptance by our State Department as satisfactory. The terms and phrasing of the agreement have not been made public as we write (February 9), but they may be before our readers when this issue of The Outlook reaches them. Moreover, what seem to be semi-authorized statements by the Washington correspondents differ widely. Thus the New York "Tribune" states the substance of the German "disavowal" as follows:

> The German Government acknowledges liability to pay indemnity for the American lives destroyed on the Lusitania.
>
> In the conduct of reprisals it is admitted that neutral lives should not be imperiled, and the destruction of the Lusitania, in so far as it endangered neutral lives, was therefore unjustifiable.

Another summary, that of the New York "Times," is as follows:

> First, Germany, while considering reprisals against an enemy legal and knowing that the United States Government regards reprisals as illegal, admits that the attack upon the Lusitania was an act of retaliation that was not justifiable in so far as it involved the lives of neutrals, and also assumes liability for such loss of neutral lives.
>
> Second, Germany is willing to pay an indemnity for the American lives lost in the sinking of the Lusitania, and to make this reparation as an act of liability.
>
> Third, Germany gives guarantees that the incident will not be repeated by declaring that liners will not be sunk by German submarines without warning and without safety of the lives of non-combatants, provided the liners do not try to escape or offer resistance.

We look in vain in either of these summaries for any recognition of the fundamental principle upheld by America, that war on all unoffending non-combatants in all unoffending merchant ships (not merely on neutrals in liners) is opposed to recognized international law and is inhuman. This was stated clearly in the American note of May 13:

> It [the Government of the United States] assumes, on the contrary, that the Imperial Government accepts, as of course, the rules that the lives of non-combatants, whether they be of neutral citizenship or citizens of one of the nations at war, cannot lawfully or rightfully be put in jeopardy by the capture or destruction of unarmed merchantmen.

If we recede from this position, we throw overboard our further contention in the same note that our objection to the German submarine war methods "lies in the practical impossibility of employing submarines in the destruction of commerce without disregarding those rules of fairness, reason, justice, and humanity which all modern opinion regards as imperative."

As to the ever-recurring plea of reprisal made by Germany for all her illegal and inhuman destruction of non-combatant life on shore and at sea, we will quote Viscount Bryce's noble words of dissent when some of his countrymen urged him to meet reprisal by reprisal. "We stand in this war," he said, "for justice and right. We stand for humanity; and from that position we must not depart."

It would be obviously unfair to comment on the announced settlement of the Lusitania slaughter before the notes to be exchanged have been carefully scanned. This is a case where words used and omissions made might well be of portentous importance. If, however, there shall be even a tacit or inferential admission by this country that Germany's war on non-combatants of any nation is no concern of ours, then we shall have laid upon ourselves a share in the guilt and moral responsibility which will follow the quite probable renewal of that warfare.

THE APPAM A PRIZE OF WAR

The decision as to how the United States should regard and treat the British steamer

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Appam, brought into Hampton Roads by a German prize crew, has been determined by the old treaties (1799 and 1828) between the United States and Prussia. The Appam will be treated as a prize of war. The British Government has protested against our decision, and claims that the Appam ought to be released by our Government to her British owners in accordance with the principles of international law on this point expressed in the Hague Convention of 1907, as stated last week. While there is still plenty of room for argument in this matter over questions of international law, it is improbable that any serious complications will occur either with Germany or with Great Britain. The question has been asked whether, if our treaties with Germany were in violation of recognized international law, the treaty or the law should prevail? Undoubtedly a treaty which violates established and definite law, especially law involving fundamental principles of humanity and international morality, is void. But international law cannot be established and defined and enforced in all particulars in the same sense as national law.

The German raider which captured the Appam is now supposed to be the Ponga and not the Moewe; and it is evident that it is manned by recruits from various German ships. Whether it came out from a German port and ran the gauntlet of the British fleet in the North Sea is not quite sure; but there are rumors that this is so, and that several other small German raiders did the same thing and are now at large. One result of this is that rates of marine insurance have gone up appreciably. A report is current as we write that a German armored cruiser, the Roon, has been captured by a British cruiser in the North Atlantic.

One of the very best of the many stories which have been told of the Ponga and the Appam was that of a sixteen-year-old English boy, Eric Whelan, who was captured on an English tramp steamship before the Appam was taken. This boy kept a diary, which has been published, and it is so genuine and direct that it carries conviction. A curious passage, which seems to give strength to the theory that the Ponga came from a German port, is one in which the boy tells of having to sleep on a straw mattress between some rails, and adds: "We afterwards found out that there had been mine trolleys on the rails—they had laid the mines in the North Sea."

OFFENSIVES, REAL AND THREATENED

The week ending February 9 was not marked by very important fighting. The most definite success was a small and distant one: far away in the center of the western African coast the British forces occupied part of Kamerun, heretofore held by the Germans, and drove large numbers of the German soldiers and population south into Spanish Guinea.

The subject most discussed in military circles and the newspapers of late has been the question as to what the next great German offensive will be. On the one hand, we read that Field Marshal von Mackensen has assumed control of an Austro-German army intended to attack the Allies around Salonika. The assertion is made that this attack on the Allies is surely going to begin within a few weeks. But hardly have we read this theory of the next German offensive than we find equally positive assertions that the true great German offensive, now supposed to be about due, is to be hurled against the eastern front and perhaps towards Calais. In support of this it may be reported that there was rather unusual activity in this direction last week on the fronts occupied by the British and the Belgians, and that Ypres was once more bombarded. Some military observers believe that all these reports are intended to puzzle and confuse the Allies as to what is coming. Possibly the attack on the Allies in Greece will be made; possibly, but not probably, the threatened attack on the Suez Canal is to go on; perhaps the great drive in the West is coming; it is quite conceivable even that two of these great offensives will be undertaken at once.

There has been a good deal of comment in London over a new General Order under which the British Chief of Staff, Sir William Robertson, is hereafter to be responsible for issuing orders for military operations. The fact that this was formerly done by the Secretary of War is adduced as evidence that Lord Kitchener may be on the point of resigning as Secretary of State; and there are rumors that he will be succeeded by Lord Derby, who carried on the famous recruiting campaign, or possibly by Mr. Lloyd George. It is not improbable that some such change may take place; but the order as to General Robertson is very slight basis on which to found the belief.

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THE NATIONAL SECURITY LEAGUE

The National Security League has probably done more than any other one single agency to inform and solidify public opinion in behalf of the policy of National preparedness. The history of the League is a somewhat unusual one.

In the summer of 1914 among the crowd of Americans who were marooned in London at the outbreak of the European war was a New York lawyer. He took an active part in the work of bringing order out of chaos among the stranded Americans, and his experiences convinced him that the United States was wholly unprepared to meet a similar catastrophe within its own borders. When he came back to New York, he started a campaign for preparedness, single-handed. He personally called on half a dozen or a dozen men to join him in a small meeting for a discussion of the subject. He set this group to work by dividing them into committees, and for the last eighteen months he has devoted much of his time, already well occupied by a large and exacting law practice, to the development and administration of the National Security League, which now has branches and committees all over the country, and which recently held a notable National conference in Washington. He succeeded in bringing actively into this movement many men who are experts in naval, military, economic, and industrial affairs, as well as men of international experience in the administration of public affairs.

The National Security League proposes, we believe, before long, to publish in a single volume the proceedings of the recent conference at Washington, which were reported in these pages. It will include a list of notable public addresses. The volume will not only constitute a valuable record of facts and opinions on the question of National Defense, but will form a striking illustration of what a single private citizen can do by "keeping everlastingly at it," with tact and common sense, in promoting a great measure of public reform. We are glad to print a portrait of this private citizen in our pictorial section this week. His name is S. Stanwood Menken.

MILITARY TRAINING OF SCHOOL-BOYS

Senator McCumber has introduced a bill authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to prepare such abandoned or unoccupied military posts as are, in his judgment, best fitted for the use of military training camps for the giving of instruction to high school students in the same general manner as is now provided for the training of cadets at West Point during the summer months. Such a plan, if adopted, would serve as a valuable extension of the Plattsburgh idea. It ought, however, to be extended to occupied posts, for there is no better service the men and officers of our regular army can render than to supervise such training. Secretary Lane, in a recent letter indorsing Senator McCumber's bill, also adds his voice to the growing volume of praise for the plan of military training for high school pupils which has been in active operation in the State of Wyoming for five years.

This plan was initiated by Lieutenant E. Z. Steever while on duty in Wyoming as Inspector-Instructor of the National Guard of the State. Lieutenant Steever's plan was adopted first in the Cheyenne high school. When proposed, it aroused opposition from labor men, clergymen, teachers, and parents. Apparently Lieutenant Steever is as good a strategist as disciplinarian, for he finally won support from all these sources for his scheme of volunteer military training.

Lieutenant Steever's plan, as adopted in the high schools of Wyoming, is briefly that of providing a preliminary military training for the adolescent boy through a system of carefully regulated squad competitions. The boys who volunteer for the work are divided into wall-scaling units, infantry drill units, troop leadership units, scholarship units, field firing units, and camp units. Each squad has a sponsor elected from the girls in the mixed high schools and assigned to the different units. The sponsors are in every sense members of the squad organization. They attend all drills, are the leaders in all social functions, and are entitled to and receive such individual rewards as may be won by the units for which they stand. The students in each school who volunteer for the work are divided, as boys choose up for a baseball game, into units of equal strength. After the final choosing up, these units are fixed and cannot be added to or subtracted from. All the work of training is done by these competition units acting as single bodies, and the records they make and the rewards they receive belong share and share alike to all the members of a unit.

Under Lieutenant Steever's plan the

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school year is divided into short intensive training periods, working up through preliminary competitions to final competitions, both within the several schools and with neighboring institutions. It is obvious at once that the Wyoming plan provides for the physical training of a vastly larger number of boys than is provided for in the present system of interschool or intercollege athletics. The only squad of boys not provided for in Lieutenant Steever's plan is the bleacher squad. His system has no place for the boy who sits on the side lines and watches the others work.

THE STEEVER PLAN OUTLINED

From September 1 until the end of December the Wyoming cadets bend their chief energies to practice in wall-scaling and calisthenics. This is work which necessitates a minimum of military drill and a maximum of body-building. From January 1 to the end of February the time is devoted to troop leadership competitions, and a study of military problems and the military history of the United States. Gallery practice and intra-school competitions also play their part in this period. From March until the end of the first week in May there are infantry drill, outside range practice, and field-firing competitions. From May until the end of the school year there is more drill, with special emphasis on camp and field problems and competition between high schools.

All through the school year, whenever possible, boys are taken into camp and trained in camp life. They are taught sanitation, cooking, woodcraft, sketching, scouting, and patrolling, and qualify as guides in their own territory. Upon the close of school they are taken into camp for a period of fourteen days.

The mental, moral, and physical benefit to be derived from such a system as Lieutenant Steever has instituted in Wyoming is incalculable. Indeed, the social benefit of this Wyoming plan is more than equal to any military advantage that would be derived from its adoption throughout the country. It is unsound to assume that any system of training the adolescent youth will remove from the Nation the responsibility of training its manhood as well. But the boy who has gone through such a training is infinitely better equipped for the training which he must ultimately receive, if he is to become in all respects an efficient citizen of our democracy.

Even excepting the fact that the main stress of the Wyoming plan has been placed, and properly so, upon its civic value, and that its military value is preliminary rather than final, no less an authority than Major-General Wood, as recently quoted in "Everybody's Magazine," has found it possible to say of this system:

> Give these Steever cadets three months in a training camp for the purpose of co-ordinating what they have learned and familiarizing them with the work in the mass, and you will have as fine and effective a body of troops as ever took arms in defense of a country. The high school training gives the boys the sound physical base that is the first essential to any rational plan of National preparedness. It teaches the important lesson of abstinence and self-mastery, and forms the invaluable habits of discipline and co-operative effort. Above all, it grounds them in the fundamentals of military science and training, lifting them high above the raw volunteers who are the despair of officers in a crisis.

The Steever plan is one which deserves Nation-wide study and approval.

CONSCRIPTION IN GREAT BRITAIN

The Outlook is, on the whole, in sympathy with the purposes of the British Conscription Bill. The remarkable army of Germany is founded on conscription. In our Civil War the Federal Government was finally obliged to apply the principle of conscription, or, as it was then called, the draft.

The fundamental objection to the voluntary system of national defense, either in time of peace or in time of war, is that the real patriots do the work while the selfish and the "slackers" avoid the dangers and labor of defense. It is only fair to say, however, that British Liberals and labor leaders who opposed the principle of conscription believe that they have two reasonable grounds for their opposition.

The first is that the voluntary system of recruiting has been such a complete success that conscription is practically unnecessary. The "Ulster Guardian," a highly respected Irish Liberal journal, estimates that in the middle of January last all but one hundred thousand of the fit unmarried men of proper age in the British Isles had responded cheerfully to the voluntary system. The same journal adds that, if this is considered too enthusiastic a computation, the figures of the conscriptionists themselves show that there are only three hundred thousand unpledged men who might

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conceivably be reached by a draft. The "Guardian" asks if it is worth while to destroy the enthusiasm of voluntary service for the sake of getting from one hundred thousand to three hundred thousand "slackers." This view and these figures are also given by the London "Nation" as the basis of its opposition to conscription.

The second objection is that of organized labor. The labor leaders, together with many Liberals who wish to preserve as far as possible the doctrine of individual freedom in a democracy, assert that conscription will not be a temporary measure for war purposes, but will become a permanent policy of the Government in times of peace. If this is true, they say, Great Britain will be introducing the essential principle of Prussian militarism, which the people of Great Britain are now fighting in an endeavor to prevent its spread throughout the civilized world.

This discussion in Great Britain is not a little analogous to the discussion which is going on in connection with the question of preparedness in this country. If obligatory service for National defense in times of peace means that every citizen shall spend three consecutive years of his life in a military camp after the Prussian model, The Outlook is opposed to it. But The Outlook does not believe that obligatory military service means this at all. It means rather, as it does in Switzerland or Australia, that every male citizen shall be so trained morally, mentally, and martially in times of peace that he will respond automatically and efficiently to his country's demand in time of war. While we do not share the English Liberals' antipathy to military compulsion in this time of unprecedented emergency for their country, we think they are right in their demand that the British Conscription Bill should have contained a definite statement that it is a temporary war measure. The door would have thus been left open for a deliberate and calm discussion at the end of the war of the principle which should govern civilized nations in their attitude towards national defense on the one hand and international co-operation on the other.

THE DESTRUCTION OF CANADA'S PARLIAMENT BUILDING

It was natural that following the destruction by fire of the splendid House of Parliament at Ottawa on Thursday, February 3, there should be strong suspicion and a general belief that it was of incendiary origin—the work of German enemies of Canada. What is known of attempts and plots of this nature in the United States, and particularly of the design of the man who attacked Mr. J. P. Morgan in New York to destroy by bombs the National Capitol at Washington, made such a supposition plausible and reasonable. It is but fair to state, however, that while many Canadians and some Canadian newspapers still maintain this belief, no positive evidence has been obtained, and that Canadian officials and statesmen such as General Hughes, the military member of the Canadian Cabinet, and the Hon. Wilfrid Laurier, former Prime Minister, have stated their opinion that the fire was not set by German spies. This view is, to some extent, confirmed by a telegram received by The Outlook from a trusted and well-informed correspondent in Toronto, who, in response to The Outlook's question, replies, "Best public opinion here regarding Ottawa fire somewhat divided, but inclined to believe that the fire was accidental."

Many thousands of Americans from this side of the Canadian border have seen the beautiful building which has so terribly suffered. It was one of the best-known public buildings in this hemisphere, was over four hundred and seventy feet long, and was dominated by the Victoria Tower, which rose one hundred and eighty feet over the principal entrance. The Parliament Building was begun just after the union of Upper and Lower Canada (Quebec and Ontario), and the corner-stone was laid by the then Prince of Wales (afterwards Edward VII) in 1860. The building cost something like $10,000,000.

Estimates of the extent of the fire vary, but the Commons wing was entirely destroyed and the rest of the Parliament Building very seriously damaged. The great library, which stood just back of the main building, was fortunately saved, although many books and documents were damaged; the library contains over two hundred thousand volumes.

The fire began in the special library in the Commons wing. An evening session was going on, and the wonder is that many lives were not lost. As it was, three or four persons perished. The Premier, Sir Robert Borden, barely escaped.

A picture of the Parliament Building, taken

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during the conflagration, appears on another page of this issue of The Outlook.

THE NEW RUSSIAN PREMIER

During the past twelvemonth Ivan Goremykin has again been the Prime Minister of Russia. Some time ago it was said that his resignation might be demanded on the allegation that he was responsible for the war munition shortage. The resignation has now taken place. The semi-official statement reads that the Premier "has been relieved at his own request, owing to ill health."

Friends of Russian freedom have often been tempted to think that no Prime Minister could really be more reactionary than this musty-minded economist. If, however, another man might have been named as more reactionary, the choice would likely have fallen upon Boris Vassilivitch Sturmer. And it is precisely this person who has been chosen to be the new Premier.

Sturmer has been little known outside the Council of the Empire, the upper chamber of the Russian Parliament, of which he has been a member for a dozen years. He has been fairly active there in debates on foreign affairs and finance. He has also been a Minister of Ceremonies at the Imperial Court. He must be very nationalistic, for Russian papers say that he is about to apply for legal permission to change his German-sounding name to the more Russian family name of his mother before her marriage.

As a dyed-in-the wool autocrat and bureaucrat Sturmer has been best known as a follower of the famous—or rather infamous—Plehve, Minister of the Interior (1902–1904); indeed, Sturmer was supposed to be "in the running" as Plehve's successor. Thus at the head of the Russian Cabinet there now stands a man intimately associated with one who was commonly designated as "the butcher," who was the father of the "Black Hundred," that diabolical device for the systematic massacre of Jews, and who provoked panics at Kishinev and elsewhere in order that he might suppress them with an iron hand. Again, we see in Sturmer the successor of the Minister under whom Russification was so drastically carried out in Finland, Poland, and Lithuania as to awaken undying resentment. Finally, it remains to be seen whether, like Plehve, Sturmer will oppose commercial progress—especially the progress recently proposed by prominent Americans interested in Russian trade—because this might involve the existence of a prosperous middle class and a dangerous proletariat, both of whom might one day rise up against a policy of repression!

At all events, a sturdy supporter of autocracy has been promoted from the comparative obscurity of the Russian upper house to the place of greatest power in the Empire after that of the Emperor. This will, we think, be universally regarded as the answer of those in power to some too optimistic predictions. Certainly The Outlook has been hoping that, by its present association with two great democracies, Russia would be not only impelled but *com*pelled to take some forward step in the direction of greater representative government. The step just taken means that the forces of reaction are still supreme. Hence the Russian people, when they sweep away—as one day they will—all that stands between them and self-expression, will have just so much the harder task. The one element in Sturmer's accession that has a bright side is the indication that he does not belong to that suspected pro-German clique in the Russian bureaucracy that has helped to increase Russia's perils in the war.

The Slav temperament, though noble and idealistic, is also fatalistic. We hope that this latest event will not unduly depress either the Russian people or such of their leaders as Milyukov, for instance, but will act upon them as only a further irritant spurring them toward ultimate and certain victory.

THE MUSEO SOCIAL

The Outlook has already had occasion to call attention to the work of the Museo Social Argentino of Buenos Aires, an institution formed to spread abroad desirable information and to promote intelligent social action.

In its announcement of January 5, 1916, which has come to us directly from the Museo in Spanish, the Museo Social refers to its letter of over a year ago to the various American governments, to the press, and to many scientific, social, and commercial institutions, soliciting their adherence to the principles of liberty and security to neutral maritime commerce, and particularly to the possibility of "the pacific isolation of America." This initiative was favorably received by a large number of those addressed. But their adherences do not go outside the theoretical domain. There

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CARTOONS OF THE WEEK

Robert Carter in the New York Evening Sun

"HERE, UNCLE SAM, SAVE THIS FOR ME!"

SEEKING A SAFE HARBOR WITH THE SPOILS OF WAR

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CARTOONS OF THE WEEK

From Le Pêle-Mêle (Paris)

"Yes, old man, it makes me sad when I think of my family's plight if I should be hit by the Boches."
"Don't worry, brother: you are neither a cathedral nor a statue!"

NOT A TARGET FOR THE GERMANS

Mackinney in the Cape Times (Cape Town, South Africa)

Young Jonathan: "Say, Uncle, what did you do in the great war?"

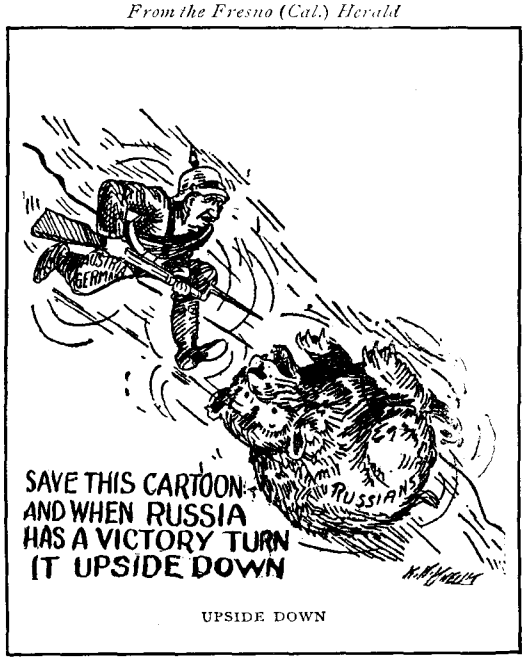
A REPROACH FROM THE ANTIPODES

Louis Raemaekers in the Telegraaf (Amsterdam)

The Burglar to the Police: "Say, boys, how about peace?"

A DUTCH CARTOONIST SATIRIZES GERMAN "FEELERS" FOR PEACE

From the Fresno (Cal.) Herald



UPSIDE DOWN

A PICTURE THAT WILL SUIT BOTH SIDES

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has been no consequence other than the evidence that, though American solidarity exists, it is not developed enough to translate itself into immediate and efficient action.

Yet, as this latest letter contends, it is necessary to defend the rights and peace of this continent, since principles have been repudiated which before the present war had governed neutral commerce. As in 1914 the Museo called attention to the case of the English steamer Vandyck, sunk by a German cruiser, so now it refers to the case of the Presidente Mitre, which formed part of the Argentine merchant fleet, under the flag and protection of the Argentine Government, and engaged in the coasting trade between Argentine ports. The vessel was owned by a German company. The English captor of the Mitre justified his deed by a British Government decree renouncing the Declaration of London of 1909, which had been signed by delegates at London from the principal maritime powers and which emphasized the principle of respect to a neutral flag irrespective of the nationality of its owner.

In consequence of these events, the Museo proposes the immediate organization of all of the neutral nations of America to demand from the belligerents :

1. Adherence to the rules of maritime law with regard to neutrals, including the Declaration of London.

2. An agreement that the domestic maritime commerce of American countries shall always be considered as inter-American coast shipping when it takes place between the ports of non-belligerent countries, and that the merchant shipping in this category shall always be considered neutral even though under flags of countries which are at war.

As the Pan-American Union, holding its seat in Washington, is governed by the diplomatic representatives of all the American republics accredited to our own, the Museo suggests that the various American governments confide to the Union the task of organizing united action, fully empowering it to act definitely for them.

The Outlook feels it desirable to report this contribution to the idea that there ought to be neutral waters, outside the three-mile limit, just as there are neutral lands. The American governments might agree, for instance, that German or other foreign-owned vessels should ply unmolested between New York and Buenos Aires. But how about England or France? Would they recognize any justice in this action? Thus, during the present war, effective action in this regard does not seem practicable to us.

The Argentine initiative is also significant in another direction. Hitherto South American trade has been larger with Europe than with this country. Now, however, its trade with Europe is lessening and with this country is increasing. Hence this is naturally reflected in a greater interest in inter-American trade both in North and South America.

"FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART"

Under this striking title the George H. Doran Company, of New York, publishes this week a new book by Theodore Roosevelt, which discusses the new National and international questions that will form the basis, we believe, of the coming Presidential campaign. "This book," says Mr. Roosevelt, "is based primarily upon and mainly consists of matter contained in articles I have written in the 'Metropolitan Magazine' during the past fourteen months." An appendix contains some public statements, an address on "Americanism," and a reprint of a speech in the Senate by Senator Poindexter, which gives at some length the record of Mr. Roosevelt, extending over a public life of more than thirty years, on the question of preparedness. This Senatorial statement constitutes a historical record of real value to the student of American public affairs.

The book abounds in sentences of the kind that have given Mr. Roosevelt an international reputation as a phrase-maker. Such, for example, are the titles of some of the chapters: "Uncle Sam's Only Friend Is Uncle Sam," "The Sound of Laughter and of Playing Children Has Been Stilled in Mexico," and "When Is an American Not an American?" One chapter relates the history of the Japanese in Korea, and another restates Mr. Roosevelt's position with regard to Colombia and the Panama Canal.

Mr. Roosevelt asserts again that he is essentially a peace man when peace can be maintained with justice and honor, and that he advocates preparedness, not for war, but against war: "Preparedness against war is the only efficient form of national peace insurance." His view of the civic service of the man who is trained to defend his country, as the Swiss or Australian citizen is trained, is keenly expressed as follows: "Recently, in certain circles, some popularity has been

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achieved by a song entitled 'I Didn't Raise My Boy to be a Soldier'—a song which ought always to be sung with a companion piece entitled 'I Didn't Raise My Girl to be a Mother.' The two would stand on precisely the same moral level." We do not know of a better brief passage to quote from the book as typical of its whole spirit than the following:

A war can be defined as violence between nations, as the use of force between nations. It is analogous to violence between individuals within a nation—using violence in a large sense as equivalent to the use of force. When this fact is clearly grasped, the average citizen will be spared the mental confusion he now suffers because he thinks of war as *in itself* wrong. War, like peace, is properly a means to an end—righteousness. Neither war nor peace is in itself righteous, and neither should be treated as of itself the end to be aimed at. Righteousness is the end. Righteousness when triumphant brings peace; but peace may not bring righteousness. Whether war is right or wrong depends purely upon the purpose for which, and the spirit in which, it is waged. . . . The policeman who risks and perhaps loses or takes life in dealing with an Anarchist or white-slaver or black-hander or burglar or highwayman must be justified or condemned on precisely the same principles which require us to differentiate among wars and to condemn unstintedly certain nations in certain wars and equally without stint to praise other nations in certain other wars.

To this doctrine The Outlook most heartily subscribes. For thirty years Mr. Roosevelt has been a fighter in public life, but never a jingo, and we believe he is entitled to claim that his own record proves that deeds are as essential as words in maintaining a righteous peace.

IN DEFENSE OF THE CHILDREN

A victory for the principle of Federal control of child labor was won when, on February 2, the United States House of Representatives passed the Keating-Owen Child Labor Bill.

This bill forbids inter-State commerce in goods made by children or with the help of children under fourteen years of age if employed in factories, and under sixteen years of age if employed in mines or quarries, and under sixteen years of age whether employed in factories, mines, or quarries if they are worked more than eight hours a day or at night.

Since the development of factories has been comparatively recent in the South, the evils of child labor have been more marked and opposition to child labor legislation has been more vigorous there than in the North. It is therefore gratifying to note that the delegations of only two States voted solidly against this bill, and in the two Southern States of Tennessee and Alabama the majority of the delegations voted in favor of the bill. But more significant still is the fact that this present Congress is to a very large degree under the control of Southern Democrats, who are supposed to be especially jealous of States' rights, and yet the vote in favor of this bill was 337 to 46. The bill has now been referred to the Committee on Inter-State Commerce in the Senate. The chairman of this Committee, Senator Newlands, is understood to be in favor of the bill.

This bill was passed by the House of Representatives in the last Congress, but it was not reported in the Senate in time to be brought up in the regular order, and therefore its consideration in the Senate would have required unanimous consent. This unanimity it was of course impossible to obtain. This year it is hoped that the Committee will report it in time for action.

Federal control of child labor is the only fair control. So long as child labor is left to be dealt with by the States separately, those States which have stringent laws assume a burden on behalf of humanity which competing States do not assume. This results in the imposition of a penalty upon the State that adopts humane legislation. Federal regulation of this sort makes it impossible for the State that avoids the burden of this humane legislation to undersell the State that assumes the burden. Justice to the States as well as justice to the children demands the enactment of the Keating-Owen Bill.

CONGRESS AND PREPAREDNESS

The House of Representatives has done another good deed in promptly passing without a dissenting vote two preparedness bills, which to some may seem of relatively minor importance. The significance, however, is not in the nature of the bills, but in the disposition of Congress towards defense measures. Both bills have to do with the navy and both were Administration measures.

The first bill gives to each member of Congress the right to appoint three instead

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of two midshipmen. The other bill appropriates $100,000 for additional building ways at the New York Navy-Yard and $500,000 for the Mare Island Yard at San Francisco. Without the enlargement of these ways the battle-ships already provided by Congress cannot be built in the yards to which they have been assigned.

The provision for the increase in the battalion of midshipmen is of vital importance to any plans that may be adopted for enlarging the navy. It takes longer to make an officer than it does to build a battle-ship—and the commissioned personnel of our navy is inadequate in number even for our present needs.

A SWISS MUSEUM OF THE ARTS AND SCIENCES

It is pleasant, in the midst of the horrors of war, to get now and then unexpected glimpses of the intellectual and art life of Europe, which goes on in spite of the catastrophe that has overwhelmed the European countries, neutral as well as belligerent. A recent issue of the "*Journal de Genève*" gives an account of the opening, early in January, of a new municipal museum in the little Swiss city of Winterthur, which brings sharply to mind the long road we Americans must travel before we attain the genuine cultural life of many small European communities.

Winterthur is a railway and industrial center of twenty-five thousand inhabitants in the Canton of Zurich. But, says the "*Journal de Genève*," "this city, which one would suppose wholly devoted to the interests of industry and commerce, reveals itself, when one comes really to know it, as deeply devoted to the achievements of science and art." Quiet and unpretentious in external appearance, it possesses private and public collections of coins, medals, prints, engravings, and paintings which entitle it to distinction. Its public library of more than seventy thousand volumes is, from the point of view of age, the fifth in all Switzerland. In 1909 the Municipal Council, although the city already possessed a small but excellent Museum of the Fine Arts, began to consider whether the municipality ought not to have a complete modern museum in which all the collections of the city could be assembled under one roof. Private donors contributed 700,000 francs to the project, and the city government appropriated 600,000 francs, making a total of over $250,000. The Museum thus projected has just been dedicated. Museum directors, librarians, Government officials, artists, men of letters, and journalists flocked to the ceremonies from all over Switzerland. Addresses were made upon education as well as upon art, and a clergyman of the city spoke of the Museum as a shrine of a trinity most essential to human life—for such a municipal museum is, he said, "a veritable temple of the good, the true, and the beautiful."

The new Museum houses, among other things, the public library above alluded to, a gallery showing the historical development of Swiss painting, and an unusual collection of the works of the French impressionists. One of the most generous donors to the Museum, a citizen of Winterthur, said in his address that in contributing to this dowry for his native city he was only following the traditions of his fathers; "a happy tradition," comments the "*Journal de Genève*," "which future generations will do well not to forget."

The achievement of this little Swiss city is all the more remarkable when it is remembered that the European war has seriously crippled and in some instances entirely prostrated the industry and business of Switzerland. We can only add that we wonder with regret how many cities of 25,000 population in the United States can be found which would raise and spend $250,000 for the creation of an institution designed solely to be a municipal temple of the good, the true, and the beautiful.

THE TOMB OF PERNEB

Though he builded his tomb so well and so strongly of heavy limestone blocks that it has already stood more than forty-five hundred years, Perneb, an Egyptian dignitary, who held high office under the King of Memphis, would be surprised to know of the fame that his skillful building has brought him among a later age of Western barbarians. If the spirit of this flattery-loving Egyptian is still abroad, how it must swell with pride at the sight of the thousands of strangely clothed human creatures that daily visit the tomb which now stands in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City!

Perneb's tomb was discovered in 1907 by Mr. J. E. Quibell, Director of the Government Excavations at Sakkara. Thanks to the generosity of Mr. Edward S. Harkness, a trustee of the Metropolitan Museum, it

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was purchased by that organization, and Mr. Albert M. Lythgoe was sent with an expedition to the sand-buried cemetery to bring it to New York. The blocks of the tomb were carried on camel-back to a railway twenty miles from the tomb; thence shipped by rail to Cairo, where they were transferred to steamers for New York. The tomb, which is the only one of its kind owned by any museum in the world, has just been opened to the public. A photograph of the tomb will be found in our picture section.

All that we know about Perneb we have learned from the inscriptions and drawings on the underground limestone house which he called a tomb. On the lintel of the doorway is inscribed, "Perneb, Sole Companion [of the King] and Lord Chamberlain." It is believed that Perneb's royal friend and master was one of the later kings of the fifth dynasty, the date of which is put by various authorities at from twenty-six hundred to forty-four hundred years before Christ. Judging from a quarry mark, it is thought that the monarch was King Isesy, next to the last ruler of the fifth dynasty of the "old kingdom." Another inscription tells us that one of Perneb's titles was "Keeper of the Crowns." The tomb consists of a vestibule, a main offering chamber and an adjoining offering chamber, a statue chamber, lighted only by a slit in the wall through which Perneb's descendants and admirers gazed at a wooden statue of the departed, an unfinished burial shaft, which was probably planned to lead to the burial chamber of Perneb's wife, and the shaft which led to the room fifty-five feet underground where was the limestone sarcophagus of the tomb's owner. Of course it has been impossible to reproduce this shaft and burial chamber in the Museum, but the opening to the shaft is represented and all the other essential parts of the tomb are intact. The walls of all the chambers are gorgeous with bright reds, yellows, blues, and greens, painted figures of Perneb's wife, his two sons, and processions of birds and beasts. Perhaps the most interesting feature is the painted and carved menu of what the deceased and his *ka* or "double" were to have for their sustenance. A long line of square-shouldered Egyptians is represented as bearing toward the slab which served as dining-table for the two spirits lambs, geese, goats, loaves of bread, and other edibles.

Some time during the three or four hundred years of the "dark period" that intervened between the "old kingdom" and the "middle kingdom," thieves broke into the ghostly home of Perneb, smashed the wall into the statue chamber and made kindling-wood of the statue, broke open the sarcophagus and stripped the mummy of its jewels and rich ornaments. The Museum's searchers found the bones and the skull of the old Egyptian on the floor beside the casket, and these grim relics are now on exhibition in a glass case next to the entrance to the tomb.

Thus, while the tombs of many of the celebrities of the "old kingdom" were destroyed by robbers, or by later monarchs who wanted sandstone blocks for their own burial houses, thanks to the sand-storms that buried Perneb's post-mortem home soon after it was robbed, and thanks to the inquisitiveness of a latter-day generation, the fame of Perneb is now secure until New York shall be buried by its own drifted dust or sunk beneath the sea by the weight of its towering sky-scrapers.

CAPITAL, LABOR, AND THE PUBLIC SAFETY

The most novel and interesting feature of the annual dinner of the American Museum of Safety in New York City was the equal participation of representatives of labor and capital in the rewards dispensed in the shape of medals for services in conserving the health and safety of the public and employees on American steam and electric railways during the year 1915.

The medals awarded were the Brady medals, donated annually from a fund provided by the family of the late Anthony N. Brady, and the Harriman medals, given by the widow of the late E. H. Harriman. Each fund provides for three medals, two to go to the executive and operating departments, respectively, of the railways that have made the best record for conserving life and limb on its lines, the third in each case to be given to some workman who has merited it by the caution and skill with which he has performed his particular function in railroading. The awards are made by juries of railway men.

This year the Harriman medals went to the Cincinnati, New Orleans, and Texas Pacific Railway Company; to the operating department of the Scioto Division of the Norfolk and Western Railway Company; and to Mr. John O'Brien, a switchman and con-

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ductor of the Chicago and Eastern Illinois Railroad. The Brady medals were divided among the Union Traction Company of Indiana, Mr. Harry A. Nicholl, its General Manager, and Mr. John Hancock, a motorman of that line. The particular records of Messrs. O'Brien and Hancock were not made public. Last year the E. H. Harriman medal for employees was won by the engineer of the Empire State Express of the New York Central Railroad, who in more than twenty years of engine-driving had never killed a human being.

The Museum of Safety made the interesting report that during 1915 no passengers were killed on seventeen railways and no employees were killed on six lines. The latter accomplishment was particularly remarkable, for in the nine years that the Museum has been keeping the records never before had any railway gone through a year without losing an employee by a fatal accident.

Still, the most significant part of the prandial and post-prandial exercises under the Museum's auspices the other night was the equal encouragement that was given to both employers and employees to put "safety first." Any chance to meet and understand each other afforded to representatives of capital and labor is good for each and good for the public. And encouragement given to capital and labor to co-operate in safety measures is particularly good for the public.

LUNCHES FOR SCHOOL-CHILDREN

In 1907 the New York public was aroused by statements asserting that thousands of children went to school every day suffering from lack of food. The charge was investigated, and as a result there was organized in New York a School Lunch Committee, the purpose of which was to provide nourishing lunches on a self-supporting basis to all school-children, the special observation of children whose physical condition was such as to give evidence of lack of proper nourishment, and the formation of special classes of mothers. For several years this work was carried on under the leadership of Miss Alice Kittredge. This Committee established in half a dozen public schools the system of hot school lunches sold to the children at approximately the food cost. These lunches were served to children at two or three cents, each portion of food costing one cent.

A munificent gift by Mrs. Elizabeth Millbank Anderson of more than half a million dollars to the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor for the carrying on of experiments in matters relating to the public health, to the physical welfare of school-children, and the enormous problems connected with the food supply, was of tremendous assistance in extending the work of the School Lunch Committee. To-day there are twenty schools, registering thirty-two thousand children, where the penny-a-portion service is operated. Fundamentally, this service is devoid of any mark of poor relief. During the last school term nearly a million and a quarter portions of food were sold, for which the children themselves paid more than twelve thousand dollars. A deficit which amounted to about a third of a cent per portion was paid from funds drawn from Mrs. Anderson's gift.

The function of the New York School Lunch Committee has grown with its work. Through its own personnel it now carries on a careful investigation of the quality of the food which it supplies to the school-children. Food is submitted to a chemical and a bacteriological test, and an inquiry into its nourishment value. In this work the hearty co-operation of the New York Health Department has been secured. Both the laboratories of the Department and the food inspectors in its employ have proved valuable aids in the selection of proper food products by the Lunch Committee, and this work has resulted, not only in supplying wholesome food to many thousands of school-children, but it has proved of distinct social value in encouraging trade where decent conditions of work and welfare prevail. This has again reacted in the interest of public health, for the diminution of sickness and incapacity throughout the community is directly dependent upon the conditions of labor and employment in the food-producing industries.

NEW YORK'S NIGHT SCHOOLS

Five thousand men, women, boys, and girls marched five miles through the heart of New York City one evening recently clamoring for a right to a public education. That sounds more like Petrograd than New York, but it happened in the American metropolis, nevertheless.

There were middle-aged men and women in the procession. About half of those in line were foreigners and almost all of them

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were stamped by poverty. They were protesting against the curtailment in the number and curriculum of the evening schools of New York which went into effect on January 1, and which affected twenty-five thousand persons.

New York's evening schools are of three kinds: elementary schools, trade schools, and high schools. The great majority of the persons who attend these schools fall into two classes:

1. Poor and hard-working people in general whose only available time for securing an education is during the evening hours.

2. Foreign-born residents of New York in particular, who go to school when their day's work is over in order to increase their earning capacity, to prepare for citizenship, and especially to learn English.

Thus the people who are affected by the closing of many evening schools are the very people who most need education and who should most be encouraged to get it.

Mr. Julius Guttag, a successful business man who is a graduate of a New York evening high school, and who is the President of the Associated Evening High Schools Alumni, said to a representative of The Outlook:

"Roughly speaking, about eighty per cent of the students in the evening schools are foreign-born and are going to school to learn English.

"New York has 115 night schools," continued Mr. Guttag, "of which fifteen are high schools, nine are trade schools, and the rest are elementary schools. The elementary schools have felt this uncalled-for blow most, the high schools have felt it least. Of the 25,000 persons who have been affected, 16,000 are in the elementary schools and 9,000 are divided between the trade schools and the high schools. The order of the Board of Education has affected forty per cent of the enrollment of the elementary schools, fifty per cent of the trade schools, and twenty-five per cent of the high schools."

A good many of the evening schools have been abolished entirely, and in all the evening elementary schools the courses in civil service, stenography, typewriting, bookkeeping, and cooking have been eliminated. The high schools have lost the courses in millinery, dressmaking, cooking, music, gymnasium, applied electricity, and structural drawing. Moreover, in the elementary schools the "school week" has been cut from four nights to three. In these schools pupils formerly received eight hours of instruction a week, whereas now they get only six hours, and in certain courses they get only two hours out of every four nights. Such desultory instruction is called by Mr. Guttag "farcical—in fact, practically useless."

Last, but not least, the required attendance in the evening trade schools has been reduced from one hundred and twenty nights a year to sixty nights. And now only such pupils are accepted as are engaged in a trade during the day. It certainly seems unfair to admit the persons who have positions and debar those who need the very training which the night trade schools give in order to qualify for positions.

All this change and curtailment has been caused because the Board of Education reduced the appropriation of slightly over a million dollars needed by the night schools to $750,000.

Already 15,000 signatures, including those of school principals, teachers, and social workers, as well as students, have been attached to a petition which is to be sent to the Mayor, the Board of Estimate, and the Board of Aldermen, asking that funds be supplied for the maintenance of the evening schools on the basis that existed up to the first of this year. A fund of $250,000 will be sufficient for this purpose, and a resolution calling for an issue of revenue bonds to provide this sum has already been placed before the Aldermen by one of their number. But the money can be granted only if the Board of Education asks for it. We hope the Board will do this, for the education of the masses of the poor who patronize the night schools seems to us as important as any phase of the work of enlightenment with which the New York Board of Education is charged.

A VOLUNTARY POLICE FORCE

Why should there be a voluntary auxiliary police force in any city? For emergency work in case of a destructive cyclone, or a hurricane, or an earthquake, or a great conflagration, or a possible invasion by some armed force.

The report comes from Chicago that a so-called "Citizens' Auxiliary Police Force" has been formed there for other than emergency work. If the newspaper accounts are correct, the members of that organization are authorized to make observations of every-day violations and call them to the attention of the

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police; and the members carry cards and badges of authority.

In New York City the Police Department's Committee on Preparedness has also recommended the raising of an auxiliary police force, but for emergency work only. It might be called a police militia. Commissioner Woods and his inspectors and captains do not expect to offer the inducement of badges and uniforms, but simply training and the chance to do hard work if opportunity should come. Accordingly, their plan provides that the New York auxiliary force should be drilled by police officers and that it should give a certain number of hours a week for training without remuneration, badge of authority, or uniform.

The only thing doubtful about the plan is the willingness of citizens to enlist in sufficient numbers. Doubtless it would be perfectly easy to get the total number required if the Department would furnish a badge to flash, or some other privilege. Nevertheless, one inspector has already received assurances from over five hundred citizens that they will volunteer for such duty, and they propose to pay their own expenses, too. An efficient police militia for New York City of this character to the number of, say, twenty-five thousand men would certainly be a civic insurance policy in advance; it would be a life and property saver, in case of disaster, in policing the streets and possible refugee camps.

Out of the Chicago and New York plans should come some efficient auxiliary organization. As to the preventive work of the regular police forces, however, especially in the metropolis under the present efficient Commissioner, the article under the title of "Police Preparedness" on another page should by all means be read in connection with the above.

THE PASSING OF THE "WIRELESS WIRE-TAPPERS"

With the recent sentence of two confidence men to State's prison the last of a gang of some ten swindlers, who, with a swarm of satellites, are said to have acquired $15,000,000 in New York since the beginning of the century, have been disposed of and the depredations of the "wireless wire-tappers" brought to an end—at least temporarily. Almost simultaneously with the breaking up of this gang, by a coincidence, there died, full of years and dishonor, the man who is given credit in the underworld for the invention of the wireless wire swindle—a man described as a millionaire, who at the time of his death lived in luxury in a handsome house in a fashionable part of New York, and whose only associates were the thieves, male and female, of the Tenderloin. He was known, it is said, to the police of both hemispheres, in every quarter of either of which that possessed a pecuniary circulating medium he had plied his trade of confidence man, as "Paper Collar Joe;" and, although he was first arrested at the Centennial Exposition in 1876 and had probably been locked up on criminal charges at least once a year ever since, his prison sentences totaled not more than a few months. Another prominent member of the wireless wire gang, who could not resist the lure of the gambling table, "went broke" two years ago and committed suicide. Still another is a fugitive from justice, who forfeited bail to the amount of $50,000, and five more are serving prison sentences—every man of them supposed to be worth a small fortune.

The wireless wire-tapping game is the successor of the green goods game, which was at the height of its success a generation and a half ago, and which it resembled in that the victim was handicapped in bringing his despoiler to justice, since in the process of being victimized he had involved himself in an attempt to swindle some one else. The victim of the green goods men purchased what he supposed to be counterfeit money with a view to passing it among his neighbors in the rural district from which he came. The victim of the wireless wire-tappers lost his money in an effort to swindle what he believed to be a gambling-house, a poolroom.

Paper Collar Joe, whose real name was Kratalsky, began his wireless wire career with the actual tapping of a real telegraph wire in 1898, when with others he held back the returns of a race at Long Branch until their confederates got their money down on the winner—on which occasion they took $35,000 from the bookmakers. Really to tap a telegraph wire was a difficult and dangerous job, however, and the idea of a fake poolroom was conceived, where a victim might be led to believe that he had received accurate advance information as to the winner of a race, and thus induced to bet heavily on a losing horse, in which event the fake poolroom got his money.

The most amazing thing about the wireless wire game is that its victims were so often

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victimized over and over again; and the next most amazing, the character of these dupes. One hard-headed Denver mining man, past middle life, lost $20,000 on his first visit to the wireless poolroom, and $40,000 in an effort to get the $20,000 back. Still unsuspecting, he went home and raised $70,000 in cash, which he brought to New York with the intention of betting the entire amount on one horse on the afternoon of his arrival, as he would have done had he not read in a newspaper on the morning of his arrival of the arrest of the men who had introduced him to the game. A former city official of Winnipeg, Manitoba, lost $60,000 to the gang, a Pittsburgh real estate man lost $30,000, an English tourist lost $17,500, and the police heard every year of scores of cases in which the loot ran from $3,000 to $15,000. In one instance, in which the name of the victim was not learned, the gang took $90,000 from one man, and it was in only comparatively few instances that the police heard of the wireless wire swindlers at all. Over and over again the members of this gang have been arrested, but it was seldom possible to induce their dupes to make charges against them, and when that was done they invariably refused to carry on the prosecution or were bought off by their despoilers. That the gang has been finally broken up is due to the fact that during the last year the policy has been adopted of holding the victims in heavy bail as material witnesses in the wireless wire cases, which has brought about the prosecution and conviction of the offenders.

ALEXANDER WILSON DRAKE

Mr. Alexander Wilson Drake, who recently died at his home in New York City, combined in a rare degree quietness of manner with effectiveness. No man of his attainments and accomplishments was more modest, nor had any man greater power of attaching his friends.

He came to New York as an apprentice to one of the leading wood-engravers of the time. He became an expert engraver, and his skill was backed by fine artistic feeling. He had just taken up work as an engraver on his own account when "Scribner's Magazine" was organized by Josiah Gilbert Holland, Roswell Smith, and Richard Watson Gilder. They invited Mr. Drake to join them, and, fortunately for the country and for himself, he accepted the offer.

A few years later the same group of men inaugurated the "Century Magazine," and Mr. Drake became its art editor. Mr. Drake was responsible for its artistic standards and leadership. The magazine very soon made a place of its own, and under the direction of Mr. Gilder, Mr. R. U. Johnson, and Mr. Drake it not only stood for the best things in art and literature, but it aided very materially the development of the artistic taste of the country. When the half-tone engraving, now so widely used, was introduced, Mr. Drake immediately mastered the art and used it with singular effectiveness.

He had not only skill and capacity for the practical use of delicate artistic methods, but he had also the rare quality of being able to help artists by sympathetic and intelligent criticism. He could make men aware of the defects of their work in such a way as to encourage and inspire them, and it was to his quick recognition of ability and his great desire to help that many of the foremost engravers, such as Timothy Cole and other eminent wood-engravers, found their opportunity.

He was a born collector, and in unusual lines. His collections of copper and brass and of rings were famous. The basement of his house contained a great collection of bottles, many of them of great beauty, while ship models, bird-cages, and samplers, to say nothing of bandboxes, drinking-glasses, and pewter, indicated the range of his interests.

He was a member of many clubs and he had a host of friends. At one time he suffered from sleeplessness and spent many hours at night walking in out-of-the-way sections of the city, where he formed the acquaintance of many out-of-the-way people. These experiences gave him material for some interesting and unconventional short stories.

FREE SPEECH AND LAW

The right of free speech and the enforcement of law, both now of cogent importance, have been recently so treated by Mayor Calkins, of Plainfield, New Jersey, as to attract attention and approval in the New York press, and even in London.

A tiny religious sect calling itself "Pillars of Fire" claimed a divine mission to attack Roman Catholicism with violent invectives in crowded streets. Traffic was blocked, serious disturbance was excited. A

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strong police force curbed it with difficulty. Finally, after these ranters had refused a permit to hold meetings under police protection elsewhere than in a thronged street, they were arrested, tried, and found guilty of violating the city ordinances.

In a message to the City Council stating the situation and his treatment of it Mayor Calkins laid down these axioms:

With our Constitutional rights to freedom of speech and of religious belief go other rights of co-ordinate value—the right of all to free and orderly use of the public streets; the right of citizens of every religious class to use the common thoroughfares without molestation by any of another class. Public streets are intended solely for travel and traffic. Any other use of them is a concession to be granted only if not obstructing their primary use. Freedom of speech is not liberty to say whatever one chooses wherever one wishes, regardless of consequences. To grant such liberty would be like giving pistol permits to children.

The general principle here involved is that Constitutional rights so limit one another that limitation by law is necessary to their equal protection by law.

The enforcement of law presently required another official statement. Sundry religious and civic organizations had complained to the City Council that many shopkeepers were violating the Sabbath laws. To this Mayor Calkins replied in a letter to a representative citizen.

With a cautionary remark that literal enforcement of those laws would land him and some of the petitioners with most of their townsmen in the police court on Monday, Mr. Calkins pronounces for a reasonable enforcement of the spirit of the law. This, upheld by a massive public sentiment, is fulfilled by quiet orderliness and a very general cessation of business and labor. The peace and quiet of the day are better observed by the poor Italian with his little shop open than by the prosperous folk whose Sunday recreations are pursued with clouds of dust and noisy horns. Why begin with him rather than them in literal enforcement of the law?

There are many laws, says the Mayor, which their makers did not expect to be strictly enforced on all—*e. g.*, the motor vehicle speed law, purposely made strict for handy use when necessary. "If," says he, "it were the duty of officials rigidly to enforce all the laws all the time, I do not know how they could do it with the means at hand. The rule of reason and discretion should be applied to law enforcement."

This principle, asserted now by the Supreme Court of the United States, was asserted in the famous dictum of Cicero in pleading against too rigid an application of Roman law: "*Summum jus summa injuria*"—"Extreme law is extreme injustice."

"BLUE" LAWS

The so-called Blue Laws of Connecticut came to New Jersey with emigrants from the New Haven colony, who founded Newark in 1666. Blue gowns distinguished the Presbyterian clergy from the Church of England clergy, who wore black. Hence, probably, the name "Blue Laws." Their prohibition of Sunday travel, and of any kind of play, pastime, or diversion, as well as of business and labor, survives to-day.

Respect for law is the corner-stone of a stable commonwealth. Any conscious disregard of law is an infectious germ of lawlessness. Open disregard of law by some of the higher-up has already bred dangerous imitators among the lower-down. The immemorial "sacredness of law" demands the abolition of every statute unsanctioned by the respect of the community. The surest way to get rid of a bad law, said President Grant, is to enforce it. But there is a less militant way.

Athenian democracy in the fifth century B.C. was in this point and some others in advance of American. The first annual business of the Assembly was an inquiry whether any alteration of the laws was needed. Any such proposal, if sustained by the majority, was referred to a special commission, whose decision, after hearing the arguments pro and con, was decisive.

Mr. Calkins has kindly informed The Outlook of a practice in Scotland of tacitly repealing laws "by desuetude;" in other words, "an obsolete law is simply disregarded by the Court in a proceeding thereunder. The decision of the Court holds the law obsolete, and thus works out a practical repealer."

That Blue Laws are not protected from contempt by decent burial Mr. Calkins's letter to The Outlook ascribes to good people who fight vigorously against repealing them, fearing that it would be a step toward an entire secularizing of the sacred day. Their fight is so strenuous that the lawmakers weary of it

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and adjourn, saying, "What matters it? The law is dead, anyway."

Might we not do better by patterning from the Athenian or the Scottish method, or, still better, by a judicious blend of both?

THE FREER MUSEUM

In 1905 Mr. Charles L. Freer, of Detroit, offered his art collection to the Smithsonian Institution, and so to the Nation.

At that time the collection was one of the most remarkable in America, but during the ten years which have since elapsed it has doubled in size and value. It is notable, first of all, because of its unique wealth in modern American painting. And yet the group is composed of comparatively few painters—Whistler, Tryon, Dewing, Thayer, Homer, Sargent, Twachtman, Metcalf, Melchers, and Lindon Smith. Of these names that of Whistler looms large; indeed, the whole collection is dominated by examples of his work, of which Mr. Freer possesses no fewer than sixty-two oil paintings, forty-four water-colors, thirty-two pastels, over seven hundred etchings, drawings, sketches, and lithographs, and, finally, the famous "Peacock Room." This room is to be given a gallery by itself. Mr. Freer was Whistler's friend and admirer. In a very real sense the collection is a Whistler memorial, as it is also a choice exhibition of that group of modern American painters who stand alike far from both the old academical school and from latter-day aberrations.

The second feature of the Freer collection is its wealth in Oriental art. Mr. Freer started with gathering together examples of American art, and especially of Whistler; but his attention was finally turned elsewhere by visiting an exhibition at the Grolier Club in New York City, where he saw some prints by the Japanese master Hokusai, and, noting in them points of contrast with Whistler's manner, bought some of them, and thus formed the nucleus of his now truly extraordinary Oriental collection. It is especially important on the historical side, for it illustrates the development of art as originating in India and carried across China to Japan. There are some seventeen hundred specimens of pottery from Japan, Korea, China, Central and Western Asia, and Egypt, over two hundred and thirty bronzes from the same sources, and several hundred stone sculptures, wood carvings, and ivories, besides a superb representation of ancient Chinese jades, and more than six hundred examples of Egyptian glass; there are also early Persian and Indo-Persian paintings, and over twelve hundred Chinese and Japanese screens, panels, and scrolls.

At first it was supposed that the building projected by Mr. Freer for his collection would not be available until after his death. Now, however, the munificent donor has been able to set aside $1,000,000 for its immediate construction, the architect is well advanced upon the plans, and the erection will be begun this spring.

This announcement is a cause of satisfaction to all art lovers, for several reasons.

First, a doubly significant collection will be available, not in its owner's home city, but in the National capital, where it can be enjoyed by many more sightseers than if it were in Detroit.

Second, the Freer collection in its own building marks the first great step in this country towards the establishment of such restful and educational small museums as are the Wallace Collection in London and the Poldi-Pezzoli in Milan.

Finally, Mr. Freer has added himself to the gratifyingly growing list of those who do not wait for death to transfer their possessions, but enjoy while living the happiness of seeing and directing the disposal of what they have acquired to the greatest good of the greatest number.

THE LANGUAGE QUESTION IN CANADA

It is not often that the Legislature of one state or province of a nation passes a resolution admonishing another state or province. Yet this is what has happened in Canada. The Legislature of the Province of Quebec has passed a resolution to the effect that the Province of Ontario should change its school laws and give to the French population their rights. The population of Quebec is over four-fifths French; that of Ontario about one-tenth. The action of the Quebec Legislature in apparently attempting to dictate an educational policy to the Ontario Government has aroused the resentment, not only of Orangemen and other extremists in Ontario, but also of more moderately minded men.

In both the United States and Canada the educational system is based on the principle of free education. Further, as is the case with several States in this country, so in

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Canada the several provinces have control of education. Canada, however, has made special concessions both to religion and language. As to religion, in the provinces of Quebec, Ontario, Alberta, and Saskatchewan there are separate schools for Roman Catholics; in the other provinces the schools are unsectarian. As to language, in Quebec the French naturally have the upper hand in school control; in Ontario the English have. All of the people of Ontario doubtless believe that their children should receive an English education, but the French in that province want both languages taught. Under existing regulations the teaching of French is limited to an hour a day, except where time may be increased upon special order. This, the French protest, is inadequate. Hence, where they have been strong enough, they have refused to obey the law, and in consequence the Provincial Department of Education has withheld grants from rebellious schools. These then appealed to the courts, but the courts decided against them. The case has now been sent to the British Privy Council.

But this is not all. While the French party is almost exclusively Roman Catholic, Canadian Roman Catholics are not all French; some are Irish. And the Irish insist upon the teaching of English in the schools.

The main result so far has been that the French have established a large number of private schools. Their districts may thus become more French than ever. It is not easy to predict how the matter will end.

One thing is certain. No matter how strong the devotion of the French-Canadian to the British Empire, he has no notion of effacing either his individuality or his language, Empire or no Empire.

GUATEMALA

A correspondent of The Outlook in Guatemala sends us a vivid account of the recent election there by which Manuel Estrada Cabrera was re-elected President of the Republic for the regular term of six years.

Señor Cabrera was the candidate of the so-called Liberal party. But where are the other parties? There are none. "Not a single voice was raised in the press or in public assembly against the re-election of the present incumbent. A really wonderful unanimity pervades the nation."

Our correspondent adds:

To be sure, when you get behind the closed doors with confidential friends, you hear that Cabrera is a robber and a murderer; that to him we owe the terrible condition of peonage of the Indian; that he is to blame for the depleted condition of the national treasury and the depreciation of the national currency that makes a dollar of Guatemalan money worth only two cents in United States gold; that he is starving the soldiers and pocketing the money that should be spent on their equipment.

The story of the election procedure is also interesting. Over six months ago the Liberal party held its national convention and nominated Cabrera. The Presidential candidate was to be elected during the year of 1916, and, as January 10 and the following days appeared to be the most convenient time, the elections were ordered to be held then. They were held under the control of the military. There is compulsory military service in Guatemala, and so every citizen is a soldier. He must obey the roll-call frequently; and, in addition, if he hears the bugle blown some afternoon, he must present himself without fail the following morning at the military headquarters of his section. The bugle was blown on Sunday afternoon, and the notice read that all citizens between twenty and sixty years of age must present themselves at eight o'clock the next morning. Monday morning comes, and promptly at eight o'clock the roll is called. Those who have not responded to their names are noted, and may be put in prison for a month or two. Those who reply "present" are drawn up in military array and marched to one of the polling centers. Here they have a campaign button pinned on them and a ballot given them which contains the following words: "I hereby give my vote for the Licenciado Don Manuel Estrada Cabrera for President of the Republic for the term 1917–1923."

Those who can sign their names do so. Those who cannot have them signed for them. They then file past the election urn and deposit their ballot. The regiment is forthwith dismissed.

This system has worked with sinister smoothness in Guatemala.

EDUCATION IN CHINA

The work of the Christian Literature Society in China is intimately connected with political progress. The reformers of 1895 were among the most highly educated men in the Empire, and for three years Kang Yu-wei,

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Liang Chi-chao, and others, through their organ, "Chinese Progress," stirred up the minds of millions of men. Their work was not altogether advanced by the more radical revolutionaries who finally brought about a change from a monarchy to a republic, in so far as some of the revolutionaries followed inefficient methods, and the consequent political unrest allowed bandits like the "White Wolves" to organize brigandage through most of the provinces. The saner upholders of the Republic, however, did much good in enabling President Sun Yat-sen and after him Yuan Shi-kai to establish increasingly stable governments, so that now the latest report of the Christian Literature Society can say, "The people are in comparative peace and trade is reviving." The report does not fail to add, however, "It will take many years, perhaps generations, before China can be put on a stable and progressive basis. For before that is possible there must be better education throughout the land, and the spread of moral ideals and sanctions."

So long as education is not developed it is vain to hope for a permanent settlement. That there is hope for such settlement, however, is indicated, not only by what China herself is doing, but also by what her friends are doing for her. During the past year American endeavors have been accentuated by the report of the Rockefeller Foundation Commission, which is about establishing medical colleges of the first order in China. The interest of other nations is indicated by the augmented work of the Hongkong University (British), which has Chinese students from most of the provinces, and by the educational institutions which Japan is putting up in Shanghai, also by the work of the Municipal Council in Shanghai.

The chief internal change in the Christian Literature Society is the resignation, after twenty-four years' service, of the Rev. Dr. Timothy Richard. When he began his term of office, China, as he has said, lacked four things: true science, true history, true economy, and true religion. As to the first, Chinese text-books said nothing about chemistry or physics. As to history, the text-books spoke of China as the only civilized nation! As to economics, the Chinese books never told students about the advantages to be derived from international trade. Finally, as to religion, any Chinese who became a Christian was liable to be dismissed from the Government service.

A REAL NATIONAL GUARD

The United States ought not to depend for protection on a volunteer force to be called out in case of necessity. It ought to be permanently prepared with effectual means for preserving peace, and for this purpose it ought to follow Washington's counsel and as a people be armed and disciplined in preparation against the possible peril of war.

This Citizen Soldiery secured by universal training and universal service ought to be under the exclusive authority and control of the Federal Government. At present, except for a small standing or professional army, not large enough to do the necessary permanent duty required by the Nation, our military forces are State militia. The States are explicitly prohibited by the Constitution from making war, "unless actually invaded or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay;" and they are equipped with military power for making war. The power to make war is by the Constitution explicitly given to the Nation, and on the Nation is laid the duty of protecting the States alike from invasion and insurrection; and the Nation is left with a force inadequate even to man its fortifications and perform the necessary police functions of the Federal Government. The States are forbidden to make war and yet are armed and equipped for war. The Nation is required to protect the States and yet is left unarmed and unequipped.

To correct this extraordinary anomaly no amendment to the Constitution is required. Congress has only to provide a Citizen Soldiery under Federal control for the National defense, leaving each State to make such provision for enforcing law and maintaining peace within its own borders as it deems best.

If the States should cease to maintain a State militia, and in lieu of such State militia there should be organized a National Citizen Soldiery under undivided Federal control, the defense of the Nation would be immensely strengthened. In the organization of this new force the National Government would naturally look to the leaders and men of the present organized militia of the States to supply a large proportion of the commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the new regiments. The men of the present National Guard are representative of that portion of our citizens who have taken the greatest interest and sacrificed the most in order to do their share for the National defense. It cannot be

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doubted that they would display the same spirit of patriotism under a newer Federal organization.

If, instead of a State militia, a paid professional State constabulary were organized in every State, the protection of the State would likewise be strengthened. The militia is a military organization, and a military organization is created, equipped, and trained to do battle with another similar military body. It is therefore furnished with the long-distance rifle, the quick-firing machine gun, the cannon, and the mortar. The constabulary is created, equipped, and trained to deal with individuals, groups, or sometimes mobs, always imperfectly organized, if organized at all. It is therefore furnished with clubs and pistols, and shoots only in case of dire necessity. The rifle of the militiaman is as apt to kill an innocent bystander as a criminal leader; not so the club or the pistol of the trained policeman. The difference between the two is inferred by the saying attributed to Marshal Suvaroff, "The bayonet is wise; the bullet a fool."

If the money now spent on a State militia which is not needed was divided between a Citizen Soldiery which the Nation needs and a State constabulary which the State needs, the increased expense need not be prohibitive. If accompanied with perfectly legitimate economies, the increase in expense might even be comparatively insignificant.

It would take several years to organize, arm, and discipline a National Citizen Soldiery. Meanwhile it would not be impracticable and it would be wise so further to co-ordinate the militia of the various States that out of them could be called a volunteer force in case of immediate necessity, as such a volunteer force was summoned to the defense of the Nation at the outbreak of the Civil War. This, however, even if every man of the organized militia was fit and volunteered (and not half of them, at a liberal estimate, could be counted on as trained volunteers), could furnish no more than 135,000 men.

In thus urging the creation of a Citizen Soldiery under exclusive Federal control, The Outlook is not proposing any departure from the ideals entertained and the policies urged by the founders of the Constitution. From their writings and speeches could easily be found effective replies to all the pleas of modern pacifists.

Does the pacifist fear a peril to liberty in universal military service? We refer him to Washington's affirmation that "a free people ought not only to be armed but disciplined," as an effectual means of preserving peace.

Does the pacifist think a narrow limitation should be put upon the size of our army? We refer him to the fact that his forebears in the Constitutional Convention proposed such a limitation, and the proposal was promptly defeated, all the States voting against it, and we ask him to ponder Washington's suggestion that he had no objection to limiting the force of the army to any given number, "provided the Convention would get foreign governments to agree that they would limit their armies to *half that number*."

Does the pacifist suggest that the proposal of universal service is not based on any precedent in American history? We refer him to the Act of Congress, an actual law, passed in 1792, which provided that "each and every free, able-bodied, white male citizen of the respective States, resident therein, who is or shall be of the age of eighteen years, and under the age of forty-five years (except as hereinafter excepted), shall, severally and respectively, be enrolled in the militia by the captain or commanding officer of the company within whose bounds such citizen shall reside, and that within twelve months after the passing of this Act."

Does the pacifist ask us to believe that all danger of war is past and that we may live in peace and safety unprepared? We commend him to the words of Alexander Hamilton: "That there may happen cases in which the National Government may be necessitated to resort to force cannot be denied. Our own experience has corroborated the lessons taught by the examples of other nations; that emergencies of this sort will sometimes arise in all societies, however constituted; that seditions and insurrections are, unhappily, maladies as inseparable from the body politic as tumors and eruptions from the natural body; that the idea of governing at all times by the simple force of law (which we have been told is the only admissible principle of republican government) has no place but in the reveries of those political doctors whose sagacity disdains the admonitions of experimental instruction."

Does the pacifist tell us that in case of invasion a million men would spring instantly to the defense of their country? We refer him to the same Alexander Hamilton: "Here I expect we shall be told that the militia of

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the country is its natural bulwark and would be at all times equal to the national defense. This doctrine, in substance, had like to have lost us our independence. . . . The steady operations of war against a regular and disciplined army can only be successfully conducted by a force of the same kind. Considerations of economy, not less than of stability and vigor, confirm this position. . . . War, like most other things, is a science to be acquired and perfected by diligence, by perseverance, by time, and by practice."

Does the pacifist imagine that the advocates of preparedness are carried away by the military spirit of our age? We remind him that Monroe, as Secretary of War under Madison, the President of the United States, proposed a plan for universal military service which von Holst, the author of the standard Constitutional History of the United States, thus epitomizes: "The whole free male population from eighteen to forty-five years of age was to be divided into classes of one hundred, and each class was to be required to furnish a definite number of recruits. If any class failed to meet the demands made upon it, the recruits were to be drawn by lot."

No! it is not the advocate of preparedness, it is the pacifist, who rejects the counsels and condemns the spirit of the founders of the Republic. That foreign-born citizens who have fled to this country to escape the burdens of foreign militarism should confuse the armed camp of autocracy with the citizen soldiery of democracy, armed and disciplined for their own defense, might be anticipated. But that supposedly educated editors of great newspapers and grave and reverend Senators appointed to instruct as well as to represent public sentiment should be bewildered and misled by the same confusion of thought does appear to us extraordinary.

AMERICAN GOOD FAITH IN THE PHILIPPINES

The American people, we are sure, want their Government to keep its promises.

If the Philippine Bill, which passed the Senate on February 4, becomes law, the American people will find their Government face to face with the dilemma of having to break one of two promises. That bill makes a promise to the people of the Philippines, or rather to the Filipino politicians. In order to keep that promise the United States will have to break the promise it made in solemn treaty to Spain and by its course in eighteen years to the Filipinos and to Americans in the Philippines. Certainly nothing could injure the reputation of this country for keeping its word and observing its obligations more than to make one promise which will either have to be broken or will necessitate the breaking of another promise.

When the United States ended its war with Spain, it signed a protocol declaring, among other things, that the treaty of peace would "determine the control, disposition, and government of the Philippines." That treaty of peace was concluded at Paris on December 10, 1898, was confirmed by the Senate and ratified by the President in the following February, and was proclaimed on April 11, 1899. In that treaty of peace a vital distinction was made between the American occupancy of Cuba and the cession by Spain to the United States of the Philippine Islands. In Article XVI it was explicitly stated as "understood that any obligations assumed in this treaty by the United States with respect to Cuba are limited to the time of its occupancy thereof." No such limitation was placed upon the obligations assumed by the United States with respect to the Philippines. If a treaty means anything, this treaty means that the United States cannot escape by any action its responsibility for the promises it has made regarding the Philippine Archipelago.

To withdraw the Governmental authority of the United States from the Philippines without making sure, by the firmest and most material guarantees as enforceable as a mortgage, that its obligations will be observed by the succeeding Government, is to be faithless to its trust and to disregard its word and its honor. There is only one reason which would justify the United States in yielding up its sovereignty without fulfilling its obligations, and that reason would be in defeat by a superior force to which the United States would have to surrender.

Among the obligations which the United States has assumed is the following which it has entered into under solemn promise to Spain. And it is to be noted that this is a promise, not with regard to Spaniards or to other foreigners in the Philippines, but is a promise on the part of the United States to guard the interest of the Filipinos themselves, who were Spain's wards and have now be-

(*Continued on page following illustrations*)

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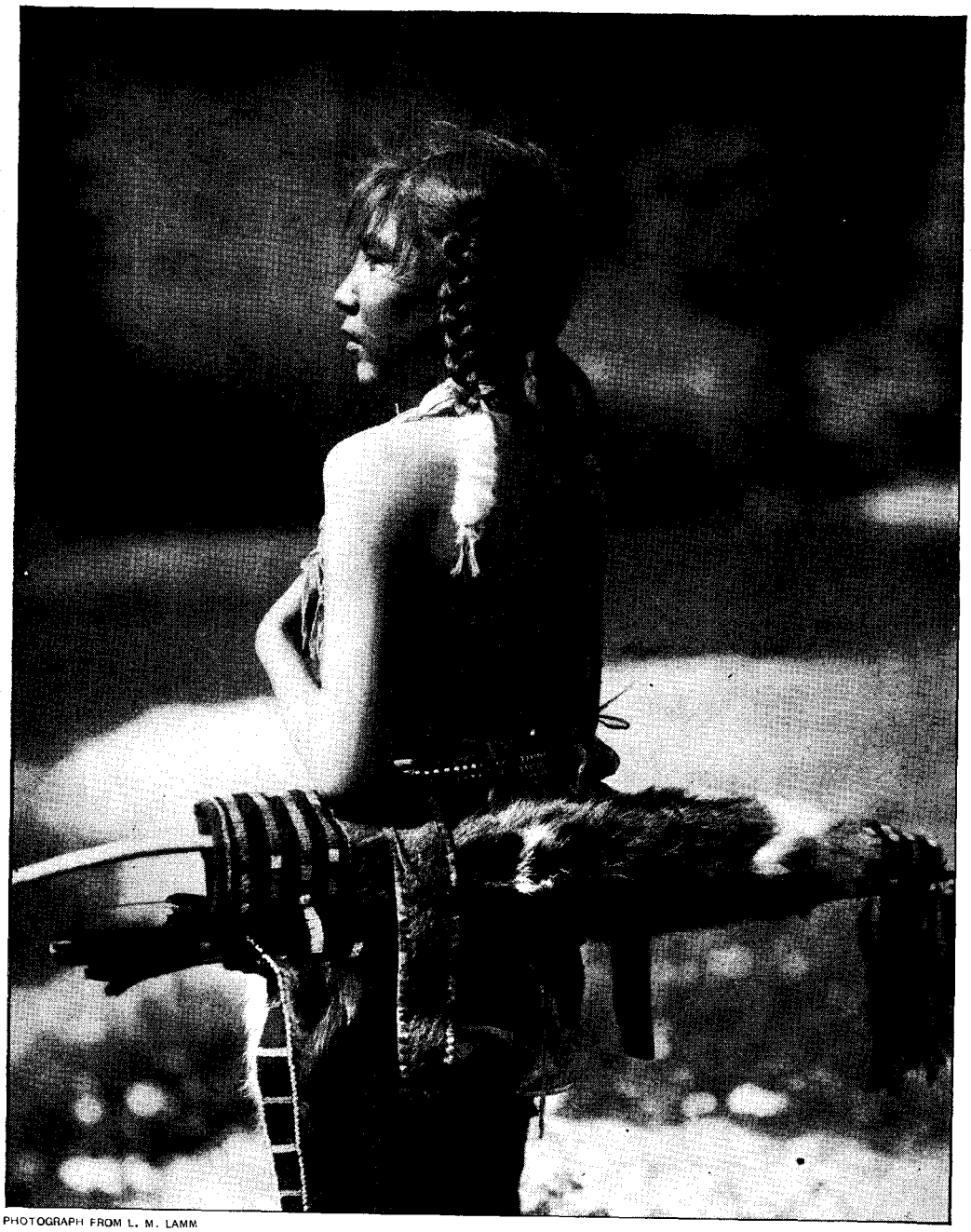
Current Events Pictorially Treated



PHOTOGRAPH FROM L. M. LAMM

LONE STAR—AN UNRECONSTRUCTED INDIAN BOY

This interesting photograph might also be entitled "The Picturesque or the Practical—Which?" Lone Star is one of the few Indian boys of the Glacier National Park Reservation who have not yet accepted the regulation of the Indian Office that all Indian boys must clip off their long hair if they wish to go to school. The old life or the new—which shall it be? The next generation, it is believed, will all be short-haired, unpicturesque—but good farmers and good citizens. Lone Star is said to be the champion bow and arrow shot of the West, but the Indian boy who gets an education will make a better living

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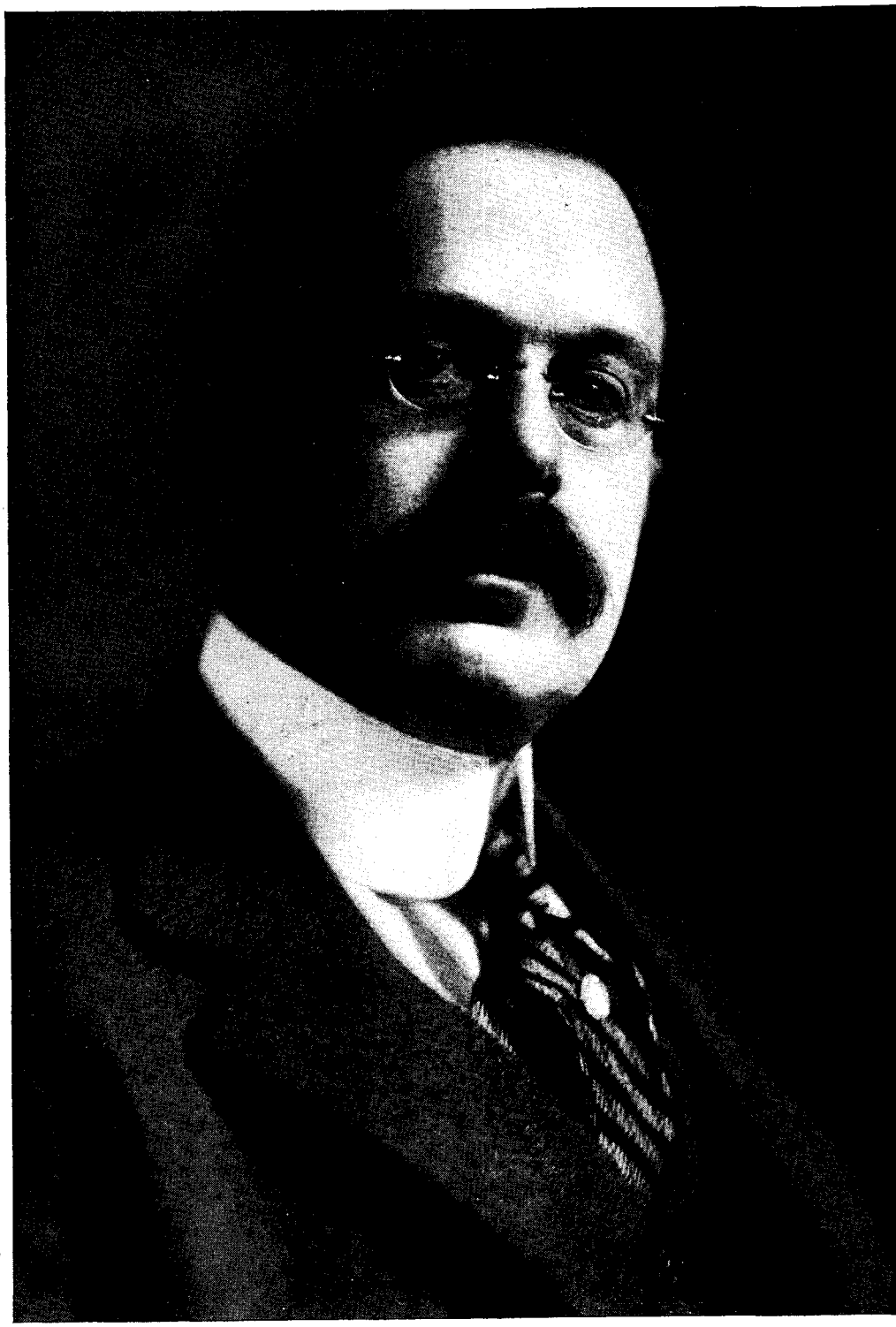

PHOTOGRAPH BY HARRIS & EWING

S. STANWOOD MENKEN, PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY LEAGUE

For a sketch of Mr. Menken's work in connection with this league see editorial pages

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LOUIS DEMBITZ BRANDEIS, NEWLY APPOINTED JUDGE OF THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT

Mr. Brandeis was born in Kentucky in 1856. He was educated in the Louisville, Kentucky, public schools, and spent two years studying in Dresden, Germany. Since 1879 he has resided in Boston, Massachusetts. For a sketch of his career and an estimate of his qualifications for the high position to which he has been appointed see last week's Outlook

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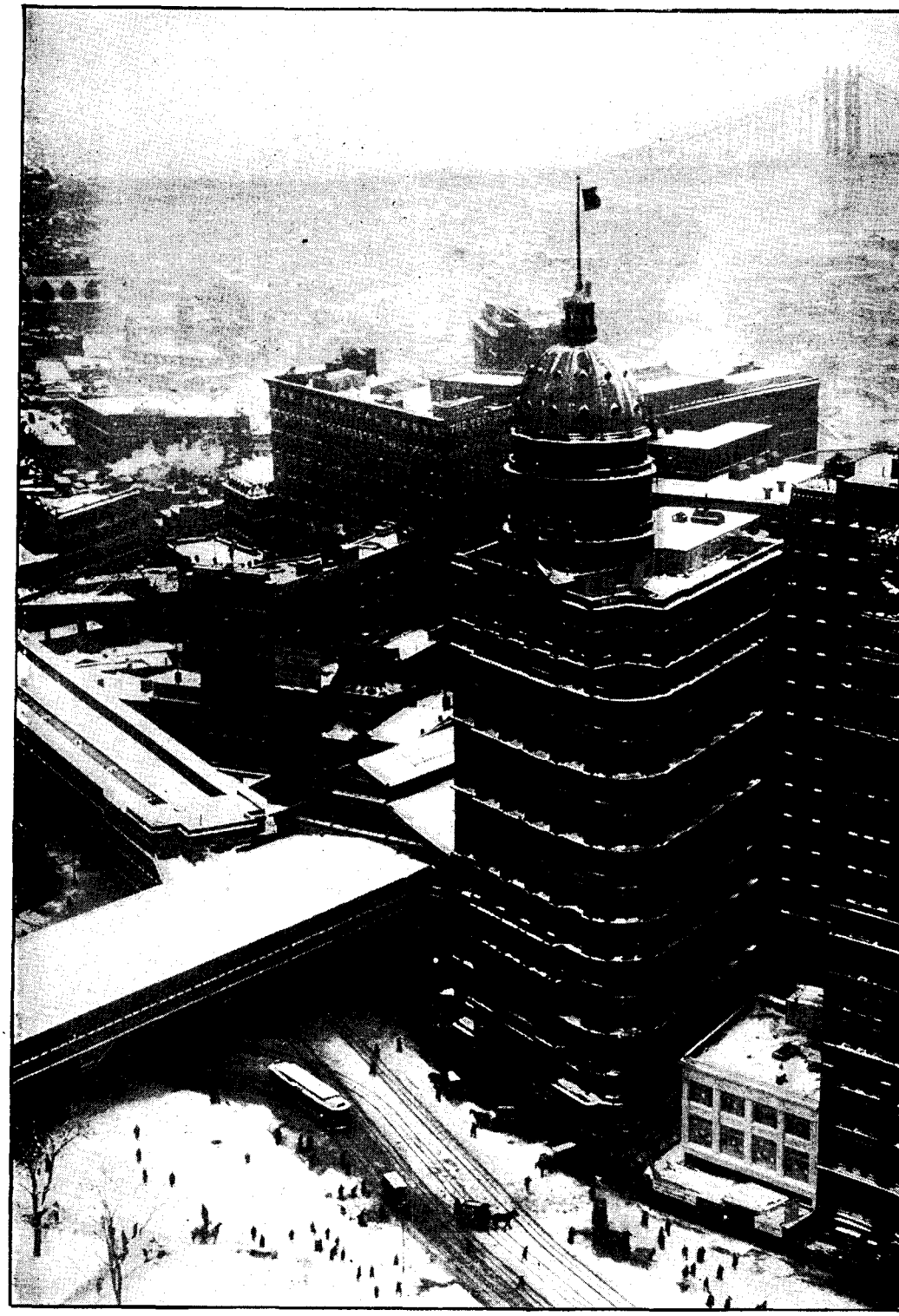

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NEW YORK AS IT APPEARS FROM THE TOP C

Art-lovers and artists are beginning to find that New York City has many elements of the picturesque in its
of softness on the city, in a white mantle of snow that smooths its angles and hard lines, one may easily disc
evidence of these qualities in one of New York's parks; this

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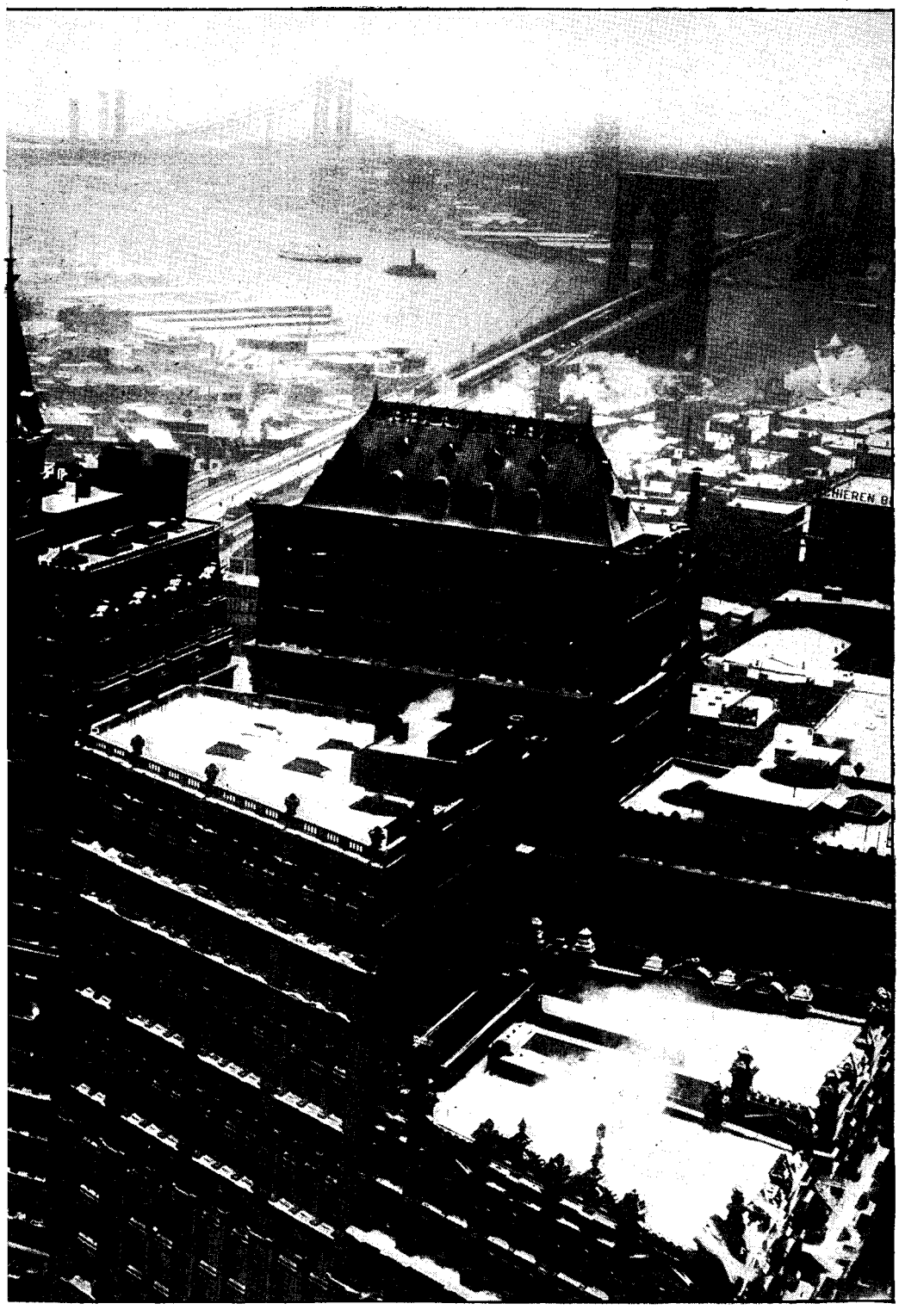

/OOLWORTH BUILDING AFTER A SNOWSTORM

ıpers, its huge bridges, and the rushing life that sweeps through its thoroughfares; when nature puts a touch d beauty in many of its characteristic scenes. The photograph printed in our issue of December 29 gave ents a similar transformation in the downtown business district

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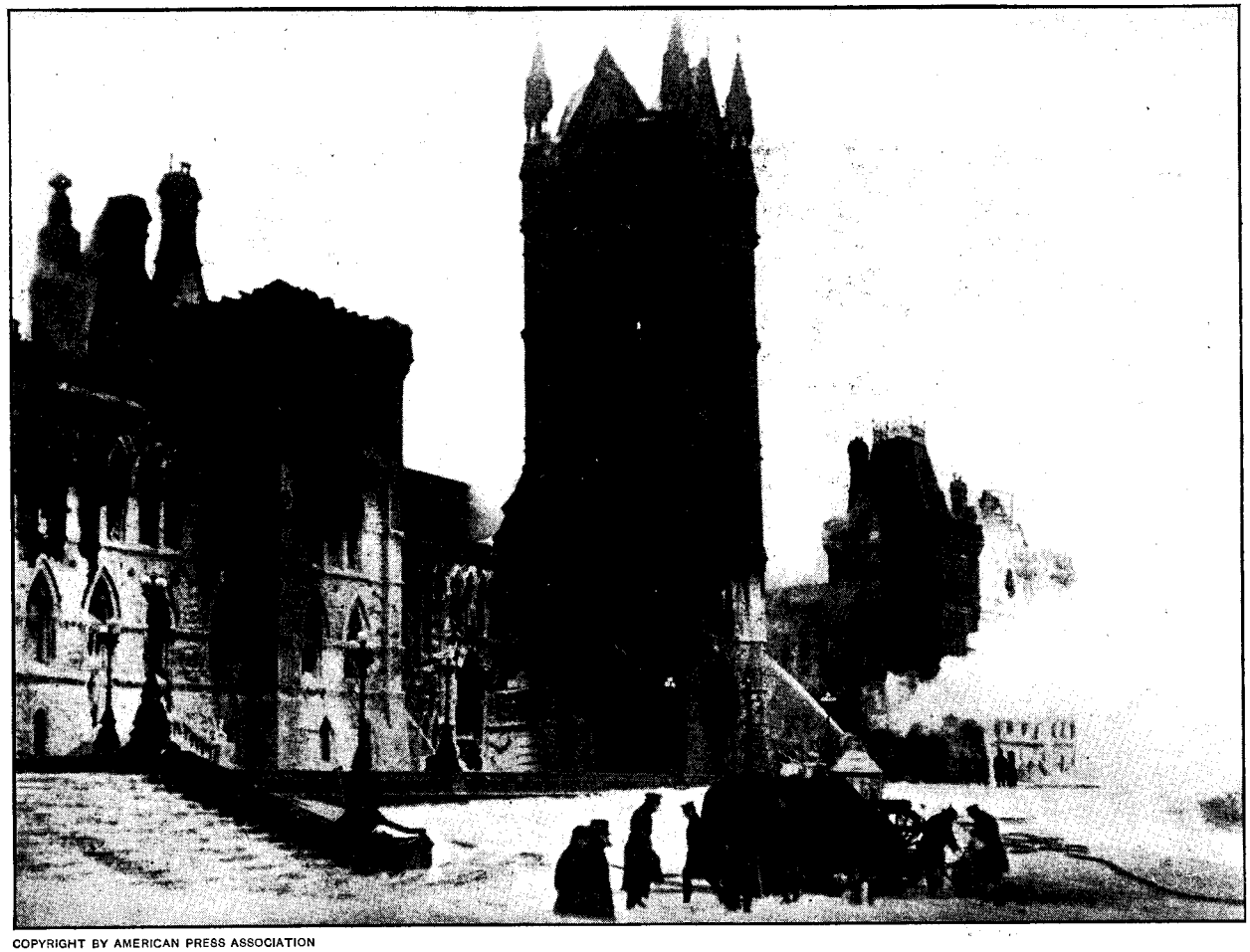

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THE RECENT FIRE THAT PARTLY DESTROYED THE CANADIAN PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS AT OTTAWA

See editorial comment on this disastrous fire

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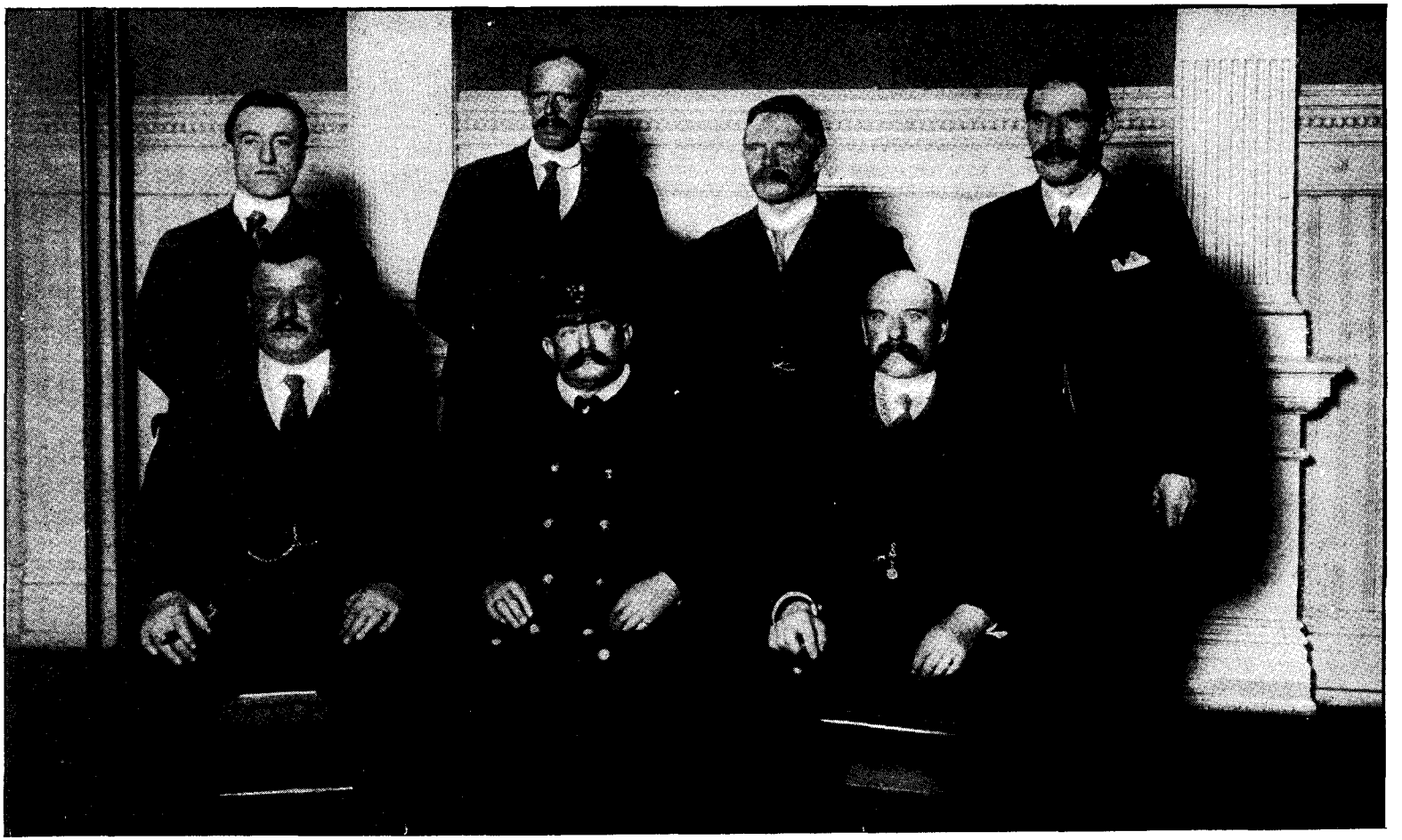

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BRITISH CAPTAINS WHO WERE BROUGHT TO AMERICA ON THE APPAM

These stout sailors, who commanded vessels that fell prey to the German raider which, as her greatest exploit, captured the Appam, were set at liberty on the arrival of that vessel in Norfolk. They are, reading from left to right, bottom row: Captain Barton, of the Corbridge; Captain Yates, of the Author; Captain Brockett, of the Dromonby; top row (next to the British Vice-Consul, C. E. Kenworthy, at the extreme left), Captain Reed, of the Ariadne; Captain J. P. Jones, of the Farringford; and Captain E. Jones, of the Trader

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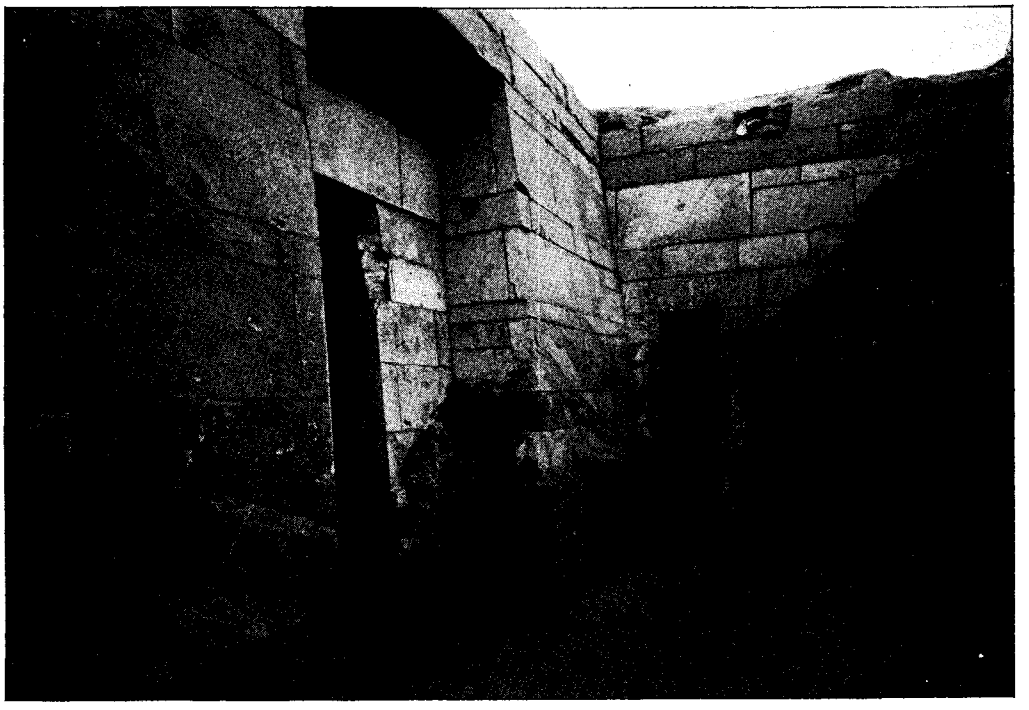

BRINGING AN EGYPTIAN TOMB TO AMERICA

The massive tomb of Perneb, an Egyptian courtier of ancient times, was recently brought to New York City and set up in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. A description of the tomb and of the way in which it was transported to this country appears on our editorial pages. The picture at the top of the page shows one stage of the great task of removing the tomb from its site in Egypt. The other picture shows the tomb in its original state and substantially as it now appears in its new home

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come the wards of the United States. Here is the promise in Article X: "The inhabitants of the territories over which Spain relinquishes or cedes her sovereignty shall be secured in the free exercise of their religion." Religious freedom is one of the foundations of liberty. For religious freedom our ancestors suffered the privations of the wilderness. To guarantee to another people religious freedom is an act of utmost solemnity.

As morally binding, however, as any treaty has been the promise which the United States has made to the Filipinos through its conduct of the Government for nearly eighteen years. During the period of American occupancy the United States has held out to the Filipinos the reasonable hope of obtaining those common blessings of free institutions which we ourselves enjoy. To the children of the Philippines the United States has brought the beginnings of public education, and has given the expectation of continuing on that road that leads through the public school and the college. To all the Filipinos the United States has brought the knowledge of what it means to escape from pestilence, to enjoy the benefit of the railway and of good roads, to be free from the terror of insurrection and disorder and the incursion of savages, to be relieved of the tyranny of courts and police administered for the benefit of the aristocratic and privileged classes, and to have instead the rights of free and fair trial. For all these years the United States has enabled the people of those islands to enjoy these and other benefits, and to build upon them the belief in their continuance. It is as if a rich man had taken waifs from the street and given them for a few years privileges such as he would accord to his own children. In such an act there is involved not merely generosity but also the assumption of an obligation to fulfill the hopes implanted by that generosity. To turn those waifs back helpless into the street would be an act of cruelty quite as heartless as to ignore their appeal in the first place. The United States, through its liberal policy, has involved itself in obligations to the common people of the Philippine Islands which are superior to any demand that can be made upon the Government of the United States by any group of politicians, whether in the Philippines or in the United States.

In the light of these obligations we ask our readers to examine the following provision in the Philippine Bill. This provision is known as the Clarke amendment. It was adopted by the deciding vote of Vice-President Marshall. It covers completely all that the bill has to say with regard to the withdrawal of the United States from the Philippines. We do not find, and we do not believe our readers can find, in it any method or proposal for guaranteeing to the common people of the Philippines that freedom for which by treaty and by deed we have led them to rely upon us:

The President is hereby authorized and directed to withdraw and surrender all right of possession, supervision, jurisdiction, control, or sovereignty now existing and exercised by the United States in and over the territory and people of the Philippines, and he shall on behalf of the United States fully recognize the independence of the said Philippines as a separate and self-governing nation and acknowledge the authority and control over the same of the government instituted by the people thereof, and full power to take the several steps necessary to institute such government is hereby conferred upon the said Philippines acting by and through governmental agencies created by this Act. This transfer of possession, sovereignty, and governmental control shall be completed and become absolute not less than two years nor more than four years from the date of the approval of this Act, under the terms and in the manner hereinafter prescribed: *Provided*, That if the President, prior to the expiration of the said period of four years, shall find that the condition of the internal or external affairs of said Philippines in respect to the stability or efficiency of the proposed government thereof is such as to warrant him in so doing, he is hereby further authorized, by proclamation duly made and published, to extend the said time to and including the date of the final adjournment of the session of Congress which shall convene next after the date of the expiration of the said period of four years, and thus afford the Congress an opportunity in its discretion to further consider the situation in the said Philippines; but any such extension of time by the President shall not otherwise suspend or nullify the operative force of this Act, unless the Congress shall hereafter so direct. For the purpose of a complete and prompt compliance with this direction, the President is hereby invested with full power and authority to make such orders and regulations and to enter into such negotiations with the authorities of said Philippines or others as may be necessary to finally settle and adjust all property rights and other relations as between the United States and the said Philippines, and to cause to be acknowledged, respected, and safeguarded all of the personal and property rights of citizens or corporations of the United States and of other countries

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resident or engaged in business in said Philippines or having property interests therein. In any such settlement or adjustment so made in respect to the rights and property of the United States as against the said Philippines the President may reserve or acquire such lands and rights and privileges appurtenant thereto as may, in his judgment, be required by the United States for naval bases and coaling stations within the territory of said Philippines.

To put this concretely: If this bill were to be passed this week, the sovereignty of the United States might be withdrawn without any guarantee of liberty for the Filipinos in February, 1918, and unless the President of the United States should find evidence of instability or inefficiency in the Government sufficient to persuade Congress to reverse its present action, the sovereignty of the United States, without any guarantee for the liberty of the common people of the Philippines, would be withdrawn at the latest by March, 1921.

The promise involved in this provision of the bill is so little qualified that the ruling classes in the Philippines would have every reason to believe that the authority of the United States in the Philippines will no longer be in existence five years and one month hence.

This, however, is a promise which under no circumstances can the Congress that makes it fulfill. In 1918, as well as in 1921, the Congress of the United States will be a different Congress from that which passes this bill. No Congress can legally bind a succeeding Congress. The only object of this provision is to lead the Fllipino politicians to believe that the United States is bound to grant independence in from two to five years, and yet that is something which the present Congress cannot legally do. There is nothing in law that will prevent a succeeding Congress from repealing this bill and breaking this promise. There might be some shadow of excuse for the present Congress deliberately to disregard a treaty obligation and to withdraw the sovereignty of the United States from the Philippines without guarantees; but this the present Congress is not doing. It is promising, instead, the withdrawal under another Congress. It is promising something it has no power to perform. It is exercising the privilege of giving its word and avoiding the responsibility of performance.

In the Philippine Bill, as it passed the Senate, there is not one word to indicate that after the withdrawal of the United States there shall be any religious freedom in the Philippines. There is not one word to indicate any attempt on the part of the United States even to suggest, much less guarantee, the maintenance of this element of liberty in the islands. There is not one word to assure by the exaction of security from the succeeding government the continuance of those benefits which by nearly eighteen years of administration it has led the common people of the Philippines to expect. Indeed, amendments recognizing the need of such guarantees were rejected.

The Senate of the United States has made a promise which it cannot fulfill, and in making that promise has disregarded the promise which the United States has most solemnly made.

Though this bill was subjected in the Senate to long debate, we must believe that the passage of the bill is due to heedlessness and thoughtlessness rather than to a deliberate intention to treat as of no consequence the pledged word of America. The American people must now look to the House of Representatives and to the President to see that the wrong threatened by this bill is averted.

A PREDICTION FULFILLED

[We reprint here an editorial utterance of this journal made twenty-seven years ago (April 18, 1889).—THE EDITORS.]

The German Government has presented to the Reichstag a new press law which, if adopted, will effectually muzzle free discussion in Germany. It professes to shut off debate only on those fundamentals the stability of which is necessary to the safety of society; but when, by law, all attacks on or criticism of the monarchy or the person of the sovereign, of religion, marriage, and property, are made penal offenses, to be punished by three years' imprisonment and by banishment from certain districts of the country, it is easy to see that under a broad interpretation all discussion of every sort relating to burning questions may be brought to a summary close. Under the proposed law, any journal whose writers have been twice convicted within one year may be finally suppressed. This new movement is in harmony with the general tendency to absolutism and materialism now unmistakably dominant in Germany. That great country is fast becoming a military camp, with the interests and ideas of a camp. The Government is pursuing a consistent policy of

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repression in every department. Even the universities, which have given Germany her intellectual leadership of the world, are beginning to suffer. In political economy, for instance, the policy of the Government has been to steadily discourage the study and to confine it within smaller and smaller limits, so that the importance of political economy in the universities is steadily diminishing. In the same way, by the prizes offered for the pursuit of applied science—science, that is, which is immediately productive in a pecuniary way—the pursuit of pure science has been greatly discouraged. Germany must have money to support her military organization, and, if necessary, everything will be sacrificed to that; and the country which was once the home of idealism is fast becoming a fountain of pure materialism. It is for this reason, as well as for many others, that the death of Emperor Frederick has so greatly discouraged the most thoughtful people in Germany. If the Prussian military spirit continues to dominate as at present, Germany will be revolutionized and materialized within the next twenty years.

THE BOYS' CLUB WORK

A COMMITTEE is at work in New York City to raise half a million dollars for the Boys' Club work, and has already a considerable sum in hand. Half of the total is to be devoted to establishing a Boys' Club to do for the West Side what the Avenue A Club has done for the East Side.

About a generation ago some young men just out of college founded a Boys' Club in Avenue A. They started with a handful of boys. The collegians were full of the spirit of service. They wanted to help their kind. They wanted to give to boys of the slums something of what they themselves had enjoyed.

Hence the Club. The athletic young men thought first of all of athletics. The chief feature of the Club was a gymnasium. Though eight hundred boys now use it, at first they fought shy of it. They showed only mild interest in punch-bags and parallel-bars.

What was the reason? The founders of the Club could not understand it. Red-blooded and vigorous, they supposed that the white-blooded and less vigorous would crave at once the violent forms of exercise. They began to inquire as to what the boys really wanted to do. But the boys were shyer than ever. Finally the secret was discovered. The boys wanted to dance! Frequent free fights had given them all the violent exercise necessary, but they were shut away from the milder kind. So for years the Club has had its dancing floors where the boys dance amicably together. Nor is this all. Once a week the big boys may invite their "best girls." Three years ago, when the "bunny-hug" and other objectionable dances were the rage in that street, the "best girls" of this club informed their young men that if the Boys' Club dances included the "bunny-hug" the girls would not come. Suffice it to say that the dances were perfectly proper.

Then the founders of the Club, in their wish to keep the boys off the streets, were puzzled as to further entertainment. The old-fashioned games—checkers, chess, etc.—did not attract many boys. What would attract them? Here again the boys were shy. Finally this secret also came to light. The boys wanted to act in theatricals. The thirst for the stage was taken advantage of by the founders of the Boys' Club. The boys responded instantly. Undreamed-of dramatic qualities in them came to the surface. And now—for the boys can sing, too—every year they give a Gilbert and Sullivan opera or some similar work.

As to singing, the founders of the Club needed a lesson in this direction also. At first it was supposed to be a nice thing to have some singer from the "upper ten," dressed simply so as not to offend "the poor people of the slums"! Now those people understand as well as any one that the "upper ten" put on swallowtails and lower-cut gowns in the evening. To appear in anything else in Avenue A was a slight. Finally the founders discovered this too, and then great was the joy when some Juno from uptown in a vivid satin gown and wearing a diamond necklace came to sing "Maggie Murphy's Home," the boys, of course, joining in the chorus. It seemed as if the roof would come off!

Thus, as often happens, the result of the benefaction was not more evident in blessing the beneficiaries than in teaching a practical lesson or two to the benefactors.

At present thirty-five college men are ac-

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tively engaged in the work. To it they give up at least one night a week, going directly from their offices to a half-past six o'clock dinner at the Club. They look forward to the dinner with special pleasure because it gives them a chance both of exchanging opinions with their fellow-workers and of meeting old college chums.

If the indoor work was first accentuated, the outdoor has become more and more so. In their early lectures many college men taught hygiene to the boys and how to train for outdoor games. Moreover, the old "gas-pipe gang" of the district having threatened to "go in and clean out the place," the college men conquered the gang by enlisting its leaders and training them to be teachers of athletics. This led, of course, to club work in wrestling, boxing, jumping, running, and track athletics, to football, baseball, basket-ball, and hand-ball, so that now the Amateur Athletic Association holds its championship meets at the Boys' Club. Why? Because the character of the Club lads had been developed by the teaching of honesty, self-control, and efficiency, because these lads had been taught to "play fair."

In thirty-odd years Avenue A has changed. Formerly the district was composed of strongly marked racial contrasts—of Germans, Irish, Italians, Hungarians, Greeks, Syrians, Scandinavians, and Slavs of various races, besides the native American element. Now, though these elements are still strong, especially the Italian, the district has become more largely populated by immigrants from Russia, Poland, and Rumania. And these are, in large part, Jews. If the general appearance of the East Side people seems less picturesque than formerly, the work there is quite as necessary. The boy must be kept off the streets, and, if not taught to employ his time in something useful, he can at least play pool at the Club or enter the wrestling and boxing contests.

Nor should the impression go forth that the young generation coming on in Avenue A and the near-by streets is unattractive. It is to a large degree represented in the Boys' Club by the type of lad we have all admired in Heinrich Hofmann's "The Boy Jesus Among the Doctors of the Temple." Go to the nightly meetings of any one of the thirty-five subsidiary clubs in the Boys' Club. The presidents and secretaries of these clubs are boys of this incisive, winsome type, though it should be added that the first president of one of the little clubs in the big Club is invariably the leader of a former slum gang, from which the subsidiary club is generally made, and was leader because he could lick every one in the gang! But he is as invariably succeeded in office by the brightest boy mentally or the boy of greatest balance. One night in a junior club, where none of the boys seemed over twelve years old, the question arose as to the composition of an executive committee. A new member raised his hand. "Mr. President," said the new boy, "what's dat—a executive committee?" "Will any gen'l'man present tell de guy?" replied the president, with dignity. And a dozen immediately gave the information.

On another occasion one of the Club's most faithful workers was holding his weekly class in history. He was full of zeal, but was sometimes forgetful of facts. The lesson was on the War of 1812. "What was the War of 1812 about?" queried a boy. The teacher was struck dumb; for the nonce he had forgotten. But native wit made a way of escape. "Here, what kind of a boy are you?" he asked. "You must be a foreigner. Isn't there any *real* American boy who can answer that question?" Hands went up here and there and the teacher gave a sigh of relief.

Thousands of boys have joined this Boys' Club in the course of its history. Just now there are some three thousand active members. There is an average attendance of at least five hundred every afternoon and evening. On Friday nights two installments of about twelve hundred boys crowd in for singing and for a moving-picture show.

The proof of the pudding is in the eating. You can prove the desirability—aye, the necessity—of extending the New York City Boys' Club work, as is now proposed, by just one visit to the northwest corner of Avenue A and Tenth Street. You will find a varied representation of the boys of the district there every night. They range from seven to nineteen years of age. And in a special room upstairs you will find some older boys—indeed, the "old boys" now, mostly married and settled down, and all looking what they are, self-respecting members of society. They like to come back to the old Club. They like to see and help in the work going on among their successors. They like to note that the little boy's attention is held taut by many a distraction as well as many a

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duty; how these boys are learning to save their pennies—often to buy gymnasium suits with club colors and with insignia; that a savings account may be started with one cent. They like to know what the subjects of the moving pictures have been; how the little boys have been taught a lot of other things in a telling, direct way; how the games are succeeding; whether the library is used a good deal; how the debates and literary work are going on; whether the monthly "Boys' Club Record" is selling well—it sells at a penny; what the record of the Long Island summer camp has been, and how the classes in drawing, nature study, office-boy training, and civil service are doing; especially how the older boys have been helped to discover the particular work for which they were best fitted, were trained for it, aided in getting a job in it, and then followed up after they got the job.

There's the proof—the old boy. He may have become a fireman or policeman because of the civil service class. He may have got a good job in an office and be rising to the top because of the office-boy training class; he may even have won a scholarship in the Academy of Design because of the drawing class. In any case, he has not become a jailbird. A visit to the Boys' Club will show you the reason why.

THE LETTERS OF TWO PATRIOTS

MARJORIE STERRETT is a thirteen-year-old American, with very definite ideas on the subject of preparedness. Like many others, she has become overwearied with the long discussions "about it and about" which never seem to result in anything more tangible than the increase of editorial requisitions for ink and paper and the cost of the "Congressional Record."

Marjorie Sterrett decided that, if the way to resume specie payment was to resume, then the way to prepare was to prepare. Unlike some of her older fellow-citizens, she did not merely announce that *somebody* ought to do *something* about it. Instead, she took the very practical course of sending ten cents to the New York "Tribune," with the following letter:

I read in your paper every morning a lot about preparedness. My grandpa and great-grandpa were soldiers. If I was a boy I would be a soldier too. But I am not, so I want to do what I can to help. Mamma gives me a dime every week for helping her. I am sending you this week's dime to help build a battle-ship for Uncle Sam. I know a lot of other kids who would give their errand money if you would start a fund. I am thirteen years old and go to Public School 9, Brooklyn. Truly yours,

MARJORIE STERRETT.

I am true blue American, and I want to see Uncle Sam prepared to lick all creation like John Paul Jones did.

P. S.—Please call the battle-ship America.

Marjorie Sterrett may be a little too enthusiastic in her understanding of past history and of the achievements of John Paul Jones, but perhaps for this her history book and not her understanding is at fault. Even though John Paul Jones did succeed in landing on English soil at Whitehaven and spiking the guns in the harbor defenses—a feat not likely to be accomplished in the present war—it is not too much to say that Marjorie Sterrett's estimate of his activity is that of a partial and partisan writer. Perhaps, too, if she had defined our present desire as a wish, not to "lick all creation," but to prevent all creation from licking us, she might have come nearer to voicing our National needs.

Such contentious political and historical questions aside, Marjorie Sterrett's letter to the "Tribune" did have a practical result. The fund begun with her dime has already reached the munificent sum of $73.55. More than that, her letter drew forth a contribution and a characteristic reply from Mr. Roosevelt, which we reprint here in full:

Sagamore Hill, Feb. 5th, 1916.

Dear little Miss Marjorie,

On behalf of my four grandchildren I join in the effort to help you and your schoolfellows put our country in shape to "Fear God, and Take Her Own Part."

I enclose a dollar. Forty cents—a dime apiece—are for:—

Gracie Roosevelt
Richard Derby II
Theodore Roosevelt III
Cornelius Van Schaak Roosevelt

Cornelius is the youngest. He is only about two months old. He isn't as long as his name. But he will grow up to it. He is named after

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his great-great-grandfather, who when I was very small, over fifty years ago, helped teach me a Dutch baby-song. Little Richard is the eighth Richard Derby, from father to son, born here in America. He loves the bulldog—a nice, friendly, almost toothless bulldog. Little Ted is really Theodore IV; for my father was Theodore Roosevelt. He was the best man I ever knew; strong, fearless, gentle. *He* "feared God and took his own part"! Gracie is four. The other day her mother was giving her one of her first bible lessons.

Her mother said, "Now, Gracie, remember that God made everything."

Gracie (*much impressed*), "Did He make *everything?*"

Her mother (*with emphasis*), "Yes; everything!"

Gracie (*after a pause*), "Well, He didn't make my leggings fit very well; but I'm sure He meant to, so I won't say anything about it!"

The other sixty cents are for my other six grandchildren. They are not born yet. If they are girls I think some of them will be named Edith, Alice, Ethel, Eleanor and Belle. If they are boys some of them will be named Kermit, Archie, Quentin and Jonathan Edwards. Jonathan Edwards was an ancestor of their grandmother's who lived in Colonial times. He was a great preacher and a strong and good man. I don't agree with all his theology; but his life teaches the two lessons which are more important than all others for the Americans of to-day; for he always acted in accordance with the strongest sense of duty, and there wasn't a touch of the mollycoddle about him.

Your friend

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

Mr. Roosevelt's most bitter opponents have never denied the versatility of his genius, but, among the many mantles which have fallen upon his shoulders, he may also be heir to one which the general public has hardly credited him with possessing. Certainly, to judge from his letter to Marjorie Sterrett, Mr. Roosevelt's friends can assert his right to a very substantial piece of the cloak of Robert Louis Stevenson. This epistle, with its whimsicality and kindly humor, is a feather eligible for the very cap of the man who transferred all rights in his birthday to "the said Annie H. Ide."

BROTHER JONATHAN

BY CHARLES ALEXANDER RICHMOND

*Dr. Richmond is well known as the President of Union College, at Schenectady, New York. The following verses, written in the vein of James Russell Lowell's "Biglow Papers," were read by Dr. Richmond with telling effect at the recent dinner of the Real Estate Board of New York City.—*THE EDITORS.

I

Brother Jonathan sat by the kitchen fire,
Nursin' his foot on his knee.
"It's a turrible fight they're havin' out there,
But they can't git over to me."
And Jonathan jingled the coins in his han'
An' thanked the good God for the sea.

II

"They'll be wantin' my cattle and hogs and corn
An' powder and guns mebbe,
But they'll pay on the nail! cash down, by gum!
For all they git from me."
An' he smiled kinder slow and jingled the coins.
"It's good for business," sez 'ee.

III

"They're killin' 'em off like flies, they say.
They can't blame it onto me.
It ain't my war, yet I do feel bad

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For them poor Belgiums," sez 'ee.
And he took a few dollars out of his jeans
And sent it across the sea.

IV

Then he heard they'd drownded a thousand men,
And some from Amerikee.
So he said right out, "If you do that ag'in
You'll git me mad," sez 'ee.
An' he kep' on jinglin' the coins in his han'
An' thankin' God for the sea.

V

They did it ag'in and then ag'in.
"You quit that now," sez 'ee.
"I'll give you fellers a piece o' my mind
If I git hol' o' ye."
An' he winks one eye with his tongue in his cheek;
"I'm too proud to fight," sez 'ee.

VI

Then they got to plottin' and blowin' up things,
An' he sez: "You let me be.
I won't stand these furrin tricks o' yourn
In this here land o' the free."
And it got old Jonathan all het up,
An' he took his foot from his knee.

VII

An' he got to thinkin' and thinkin' hard,
Worryin' how it would be,
An' wonderin' what in Sam Hill he'd do
If some pesky enemy
With all them dreadnoughts and submarines
Came a-rippin' across the sea.

VIII

An' he thought of the army he wished he had,
An' he reckoned up his navy.
"I guess I've set here long enough,
I'll have to git busy," sez 'ee.
But the last I saw he was a-settin' there yit
An' strokin' his long goatee.

IX

It ain't no time to be settin' round,
I kin tell ye—no sirree.
He better be gittin' up out o' that cheer
An' git outdoors and see,
An' do his chores an' fix things up
The way they oughter be.

X

He might be helpin' them cousins o' hisn
To fight fer liberty,
An' he might git in a few licks hisself
Jes' fer humanity.
Anyhow, I wish he'd quit jinglin' them coins
An' thankin' God fer the sea.

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THE PRE-NOMINATION CAMPAIGN

THE NATIONAL SOUTH

STAFF CORRESPONDENCE BY FREDERICK M. DAVENPORT

*With this letter Mr. Davenport, formerly State Senator of New York and now Professor of Law and Politics in Hamilton College, begins his reports to the readers of The Outlook upon the state of the country during the campaign that precedes the Presidential conventions. From now until the candidates for the Presidency are named Mr. Davenport, as we have already announced, will be a member of The Outlook's staff, and will contribute correspondence giving his impressions and observations of the currents of National sentiment.—*THE EDITORS.

I HAVE just finished a journey in the South—in the States of Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida—and have leisurely visited many localities and talked with many men of insight and knowledge in that section of the United States. If you listen to the old-time Republican in Washington, you get an idea that the South during the Wilson Administration has been rather belligerently in the saddle, that the "rebel yell" echoes from secret chambers in the Capitol. In the South itself, however, I found much evidence of earnest, serious, and concrete thoughtfulness about the condition of the country and its lack of preparedness both for peace and for war. It seems to me, after my visit, that the South is very much worth looking into just now for indications of the sort of spiritual and economic preparedness which the Nation needs quite as much as the material preparedness of battle-ships and armies.

And the first thing I speak of, which surprised me most of all, is the marked decline in the sentiment for States' rights and the strong and growing sense of Nationalism. I suppose I ought not to have been surprised. Much of the soul of the older Nationalism of the country before 1830 was in the South. It was what President Alderman has called "the continental thinking" of Washington and Jefferson and Marshall and Madison and Monroe which, added to the organizing genius of Hamilton, really established the union of the States. It was, of course, the self-centering and narrowing necessity of the defense of slavery which for a long time dimmed the National vision of the South.

Henry W. Grady, of Georgia, more than a quarter of a century ago, won the heart of the North by an eloquent and impassioned and prophetic appeal at the New England Society's dinner in Boston for a new South that should be a National South. Grady was a seer, and also a great editor, a poet, and a wise business man, who died at the age of thirty-nine. One of the greatest of the sons of the South, he, being dead, yet speaks to the South.

In Georgia I talked one day with a distinguished man who as a boy of twelve or fourteen was taken by his father to meet General Sherman upon the General's first visit to Atlanta after his famous march to the sea. The feeling in Atlanta was so tense that Governor Colquitt refused to see Sherman, saying that perhaps his son might call on the General, but he himself never would. However, the breadth and courtesy of a few Southern gentlemen prevailed, and Sherman therefore did not feel the whole weight of Southern opprobrium. The friend with whom I was conversing said that it was William McKinley who really unlocked again the gates of National emotion and fealty in the South. McKinley went to Atlanta while he was President and addressed the joint session of the Legislature. And in his own beautiful way he said that he had been looking out of the car window as the train wound through Marietta, Georgia. On one side he saw the cemetery of the Northern dead, perfectly maintained by the National Government, and on the other side the cemetery of the Confederate dead, not so well kept or cared for. And he said he thought the time had come for the Federal Government to guard tenderly the graves of the Confederate dead, side by side with the graves of the Northern dead. And the Legislature, the State of Georgia, and the whole South were thrilled by the love of McKinley.

The new generation in the South, my friend told me, long ago began to develop a new National patriotism. But it is only recently that the older generation of Con-

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federate soldiers have lost almost the last vestige of distrust and bitterness. Just the other day, on the 19th of January of this year, the anniversary of the birth of General Lee, the Georgia soldiers of the Civil War met, as is their custom, for the annual gathering in the General Assembly Hall in the State Capitol. Some were carried in from automobiles, too weak or old to walk. Some walked feebly, supported by friends or comrades. They filled the Assembly Hall to overflowing. They cheered the name of Lee. They displayed the old-time enthusiasm when the band played "Dixie." But my friend said that there never was a greater sight in the South than that which occurred when the band suddenly struck up the "Star-Spangled Banner." Those aged, grizzled veterans who followed Lee arose as one man and cheered for the National flag as if they would never stop. Once more their fealty was unbounded. And one more barrier to the National spirit in the South was burned away.

I found many indications in various Southern States that the Wilson Administration has very perceptibly increased and established a new sense of loyalty to the National Government. You have to rub your eyes occasionally in order to perceive why it is that you seem to be so far outside the range of the criticism of the Wilson régime which prevails to so high a degree in New York, for example. The South is satisfied, highly satisfied, with the Wilson Administration. Perhaps it has a right to be. It feels that during the last two or three years it has come back in leadership and influence towards its own. With men like Houston and Daniels in the Cabinet, with Kitchin and Simmons and other Southerners in the high committee places in Congress, with the Southern interest emphasized as it has not been since the war, the South has no reason to complain. I am not sure that the North has, either. In the final reckoning, the growing National fealty and attachment of the South are going to be worth as much to the North as to any other part of the country. The Wilson Administration may have cost the North something. I am inclined to think it has. But from a broad point of view and in the long run, the fealty to the Nation which the present Administration has developed in the South will, I believe, turn out to be worth more than it has cost.

By the way, I think the Federal Government can help along the National movement in the South and at the same time help the whole country in one very practical particular. Jefferson is one of our chief National figures. He had all the defects and most of the virtues of our National democracy. He had no financial sense, and his estate was lost in the attempt to pay his debts at his death. But he had a continental vision of genuine democracy, and he is one of the Republic's greatest sons. After having visited Monticello, in Virginia, I agree with Mrs. Martin W. Littleton. The National Government should own Monticello, care for it, and make it one of the National shrines. It may not be out of place to "indulge the hope" that this result may be achieved without putting Mr. Jefferson M. Levy and his family through such paces of criticism and discomfort as they have lived under during the last five years. Old Commodore Levy, nearly a hundred years ago, plucked the beautiful Monticello from an auction sale like a brand from the burning. But the Nation should stand watch and ward over the home of Jefferson. And not primarily for the sake of the South, but for the sake of the Nation.

The South is every year finding out more clearly how great a help the Federal Government is to her life and progress. For the eradication of the hookworm, for support in her plans for developing hydroelectric power in the Appalachian system of mountains, for aid against the boll weevil and the citrus canker and the cattle tick, for the deepening of her river channels, for the farm demonstration of new methods and processes of cultivation, for aid to the home economics courses for farmers' wives, the South has come to look to the National Government.

But no proof of the powerful helpfulness of the Government at Washington ever crossed the vision of the South like that which the Federal Reserve Bank system has afforded in the use of the National credit to stabilize the great cotton industry. No single event has done so much to quicken the sympathy of the South with the National Government. Cotton is no longer simply a commodity, but a basis of security. The cotton warehouse receipts represent an indestructible quality, and so highly important an article in the balance of international trade that as a basis of agricultural loans there is nothing superior. The lower rate of interest and the sense of relief and freedom which have come to countless plain homes in the South augur

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well for their future devotion to the Nation. Everywhere I heard the Federal Reserve system praised. And this the South owes to the National Government.

It is not generally known how strong a sentiment is developing in the South for a protective tariff. The expert tariff commission plan of President Wilson ought to find little violent opposition there. Long ago the tariff would have been a party issue in the South if it had not been a Republican issue. And one-party solidarity against the Negro and Republicanism in the South has rendered much political agitation about the tariff impossible. But it flashed out in Louisiana as soon as the Progressive party was born.

I was astonished to have a prominent Southerner say to me that, States' rights or no States' rights, the best sentiment of the Southern people would favor the elimination of child labor and the establishment of prohibition by action of the National Government. One of the finest citizens from the standpoint of service to his State that I met spoke of his feeling about prohibition. "I never was an abstainer until the State went dry," he said, "but I am for prohibition now through and through. I have seen both ways. I want my boy to grow up in a dry State. And I will fight to see that he gets a chance." Latter-day prohibition seems to have such a basis in economic and moral judgment in both the South and the West that there is no chance of its being overturned. In North Carolina it won by 44,000, but some of the strongest politicians there testified that the majority for it would be much greater now.

And as for immediate material preparedness for war, certain individual Southern Congressmen, whose constituents are not keen one way or the other, and who are fighting Mr. Bryan's political battles for their own reasons, may oppose the President's plans, but the Southern people will not oppose his plans. The native Southern nature and temper are not those of the pacifist. Everywhere I found the same general feeling. "We differ," said man after man to me, "about the amount of preparedness and the method of preparedness, but we are for enough of it so that everything will be all right. Around Charleston we are strong for a big and efficient navy, but are not so particular about a big army. Farther inland we are not so keen about any of it. But we are for Wilson. He knows better than we do how much preparedness we need." The Legislature of South Carolina the other day indorsed the whole Wilson programme. The Legislature of Mississippi indorsed Wilson, but not the programme. But this only means that the lieutenants of United States Senator John Sharp Williams and of United States Senator Vardaman were politically at loggerheads about it.

The South does not follow Bryan in this crisis, although many of the leaders of the South still regard him highly. And the common people yet hear him gladly. Two events have injured Bryan with the South, so a leading United States Senator, not at all an opponent, told me—his raw declaration that he needed more than twelve thousand dollars a year to conduct his personal establishment, and his resignation from the Cabinet over the preparedness issue. Many of the Southern people did not like either action. They especially think, in view of what the South is getting through the present Administration, and in view of the clear need of party solidarity, that internal party strife is a vast and costly blunder.

But there stalks across the green plaza in front of his Spanish villa in Miami in Florida a figure who for some time to come will be a menace to genuine military and naval preparedness at the hands of the Democratic party. It is a beautiful little villa, and from the plaza one may look across the Bay of Biscayne to the sea. But to those who have walked and talked with him there it is evident that Mr. Bryan's thoughts are not upon the sea, but upon those inland stretches where his great political battles have been fought, and upon the Congress at Washington, where the issue which he now regards as paramount in his country is soon to be decided. Mr. Bryan believes that the President is an alarmist, that his Western speeches are mere buncombe or else have in them the fatal quality of desire to back up words with force, which he thinks makes Wilson dangerous, like Roosevelt, to the peace and order of the country. I have no doubt that, if occasion arose, he would fight the President as vigorously as Roosevelt fought Taft in 1912, although perhaps still within the party. But I judge that he does not expect the occasion to arise. He knows the Democratic Congressmen better than Mr. Wilson knows them, and they know him better than they know Mr. Wilson. My impression is that he thinks that the success of the Wilson programme in Congress will not be sufficiently notable or radical to arouse the

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Bryan following or himself to revolution. And, moreover, Mr. Bryan is athwart the course of National progress, and not in line with it, as Roosevelt was. He is fighting the stars in their courses. And he cannot go far. But a thorn in the side of President Wilson he must be until the end of the chapter.

Palm Beach, Florida.

KNOLL PAPERS

BY LYMAN ABBOTT

THE TRADE OF HOME-MAKING

LAST week, in a visit to Worcester, Massachusetts, I incidentally learned that the Girls' Trade School of that city has just opened a new department in which girls will be taught the trade of home-making. It promises to be a very attractive venture, beginning, I believe, with some sixty pupils. Venture it is, no doubt. Like all ventures, it will be characterized by some inadequacies, some errors, even some blunders. But now that it is attempted one can but wonder that it had not been attempted long ago.

For surely there is no trade so important as this trade of home-making. Regarded from a purely economic point of view, the home is primarily an industry pursued for the making of children, to become in time and through other industries the men and women who constitute the community. We have trade schools to teach young men and women how to make all manner of things—houses to live in, wagons to ride in, clothes to wear—but no trade school to teach them how to make the boys and girls who are to live in the houses, ride in the wagons, and wear the clothes.

All industries are subsidiary to the industry of home-building. For what value are houses or wagons or clothes if there are not men and women to use them; of what service the architect to build the house, or the engineer to build the railway bridge, or the milliner to make that mysterious creation a modern bonnet, if there are no women to wear the bonnets, no passengers to travel on the railways, and no homes to nest in the houses?

We have trade schools to teach the making of everything except human character, and that we have assumed any one can make without previous preparation. We outvie Dogberry. Every child brings into the world a new hieroglyphic. We have acted as though we thought the ability to read this hieroglyphic and with it to write a life of worthy achievement comes by nature. Husbands and fathers, wives and mothers, are the only apprentices who are put in full charge of their job without any preliminary training. There is sometimes an adviser in the person of a mother-in-law or a maiden aunt. But there is often room for question whether this semi-official adviser is more help or hindrance.

It is not strange that many of these apprentices, after a year or two of experiment, abandon their job in despair. Sometimes they live on under the same roof, but without children, without a community life, without any attempt to make a home. Sometimes they escape from this life of unbearable solitude together by divorce. Considering how boys and girls tumble into marriage without any previous instruction as to what marriage means, or any previous preparation, even in their thoughts, for its unforeseen and unconsidered responsibilities, we might well be surprised that there are so few rather than that there are so many divorces.

The remedies which some pseudo-reformers propose would be laughable were they not tragic. One reformer is reported as telling his audiences that a housekeeper equipped with modern conveniences can finish all her housekeeping by nine o'clock in the morning and then be ready to go out and get a "real job;" and another is reported as saying that the mother cannot be an expert, and that in a future and better state of society she will turn her children over to an institution where they can be cared for by experts while she goes out with her husband to earn an "economic independence."

Housekeeping and home-making are not synonymous terms. Housekeeping is a branch of home-making, but only a branch; important, but by no means the most important, if in such a matter one element can be deemed

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more important than another. I am not advised what branches the Girls' Trade School in Worcester proposes to introduce into its course of preparation for the trade of home-making. But I am sure, of all trades, that of home-making is the most diversified and complex, the one which requires the greatest variety of gifts.

The failures in home-making are due partly to lack of preparation, but they are also partly due to the fact that women have not considered their job seriously, and men have not considered it at all.

I have no notion of sketching here offhand a complete curriculum for such a trade school as a preparation for the making of a home, but I am sure it should include at least the following:

Home choosing or home building.

Home furnishing and decoration.

Domestic sanitation.

Hygiene.

Home dressmaking and millinery.

Cooking and allied housekeeping arts.

Domestic economics: the art of marketing, ability to keep accounts, to adjust expenditures to income, to discriminate between comforts and luxuries, so to use what is often a limited income as to content if not satisfy a small body of very critical consumers.

An understanding of a very difficult labor problem, in some important respects more difficult than that of the factory or the railway.

First aid to the injured.

Non-professional nursing, including the physical care of children.

A catholic knowledge of literature, especially child literature.

The art of wholesome recreation.

The principles to be applied and the spirit to be maintained in the government and training of children.

She is a rare wife and has a very rare husband who does not find the complexity of her industry as a home-builder made more complex by the fact that she has to carry it on with a divided responsibility and without any clear line of demarcation between her responsibility and that of her husband. Under the old régime, in which he was frankly recognized as the head of the household, and the wife in obeying him could throw on him all the responsibility for her conduct of the home, as the layman in the Roman Catholic Church throws upon the priest the responsibility for opinions and actions directed in the confessional, her problem was at least simple. But the modern domestic protestantism, in conferring upon the wife a liberty which previous generations of wives did not know, has added to her responsibilities and her perplexities.

The problem of mutual adjustment calls for a higher degree of intelligence than the problem of self-adjustment. To yield one's inclination is generally easy; to yield one's judgment is more difficult; to yield one's conscience seems sometimes almost impossible. And yet the child may often suffer less from what one of the parents regards as injustice than it will suffer from a conflict of authority between father and mother. A school which teaches the trade of home-building could hardly install a professor of domestic tact, and yet some statement of this problem and some light thrown upon it would be a very desirable addition to the curriculum.

I venture two further suggestions. As the normal school has annexed to it a primary school in which the normal pupils may practice the art which they are acquiring, so the Trade School of Home-Building might attach to itself a baby's day nursery; and as theological seminaries sometimes invite successful pastors to give occasional lectures on the practice of the profession, successful mothers might be invited to give occasional lectures in the home-building trade school, illustrating the theory of the class-room by actual experiences in the home.

So far I have written as though the sole object of the home as an industry is the production, government, and training of children. But that is not true. The home is both a preparation for life and an enjoyment and enrichment of life. I could not write this Knoll Paper if the cook had not given me a good breakfast, and how much of this paper is the product of my industry and how much of it hers no one can tell. In the home the nerves and muscles of the worker are prepared for him. And in the home is the best part of his life. The home is an end in itself. And as the well-being of the community depends more upon our homes than upon our laws, our schools, or our churches, the home-maker is a more important member of society than the legislator, the teacher, or the minister.

But why not a trade school in the art of home-building for boys as well as for girls? Why not, indeed? But that, as Rudyard Kipling would say, is another story.

The Knoll, Cornwall-on-the-Hudson.

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THE NATIONS AT WAR

RUSSIAN JEWS AND RUSSIAN LIBERALISM

BY GREGORY MASON

This is the seventh of the series of articles by Mr. Mason, of the editorial staff of The Outlook, resulting from his experiences as special correspondent of The Outlook in Russia, where he spent nearly two months in studying war-time conditions and gathering impressions, not only from his own observations, but from interviews with men of all parties and conditions.—THE EDITORS.

IN Russia only the Jews love the Jews. The Slavic members of the liberal parties that have pronounced in favor of Jewish equality have done so merely because they feel that no country can be great unless it treats all its members fairly. The Russian liberal champions the Jew because he loves political justice, not because he loves the Jew.

In an article in The Outlook of August 22, 1914, by "A German-American," the anonymous author said:

"There are, of course, potent though superficial reasons for this general dislike of the German. The average German whom the foreigner sees is aggressive, self-assertive, loud in his manner and talk, inconsiderate, petty, pompous, dictatorial, without humor; in a word, bumptious. He has in many cases exceedingly bad table manners, and an almost gross enjoyment of his food; and he talks about his ailments and his underwear."

A similar "potent though superficial reason" exists for the widespread Russian dislike of the Jew.

I saw a typical instance of this social repugnance for Jews on my way back to America from Russia. I was traveling with sixty Russian engineers, despatched to America to superintend the manufacture of war supplies for Russia in America. One of their number was a Jew, one was a Pole. Now the Poles have suffered almost as much as the Jews from the politically repressive measures of the Russian Government. Yet while these Russians with whom I traveled treated both the Pole and the Jew with respect to their faces, they maintained this attitude toward the Pole even when he was out of their sight. But the moment the Jew's back was turned he became the target for sharp innuendo and blunt wit. Out of courtesy to the Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians on the boat with them from Bergen to New York who could speak little Russian, the Slavs talked French, and the mere utterance of the word *Juif* was always enough to start a laugh.

"*Ces Juifs*," some Russian would remark in a pause over after-dinner coffee in the smoking-room, apropos of nothing in particular, "*ils sont très gauches*," and the ensuing outburst of hoarse Slavic laughter would mock the gale that roared outside above the careening ship. This social antipathy applies to the mass, although there have been many individual Jews of great personal cultivation and authority in Russia.

One must remember this prejudice if one wants to understand the position of the Jews in Russia to-day. In the Duma the bulk of the Octobrist party, which occupies approximately the "center" of the legislative body, is anti-Jew. The more radical parties to the "left" favor the increase of Jewish privileges in Russia, therefore most of the Russian Jews put their political allegiance to the "left" of the Octobrists. There are many Jews in positions of some prominence in the liberal parties of Russia, particularly in the Constitutional Democratic party, which at its convention last June protested against the persecution of Jews. This party, commonly called the Cadet party, gets a very large percentage of its adherents from the cities, and since the Jews in Russia, as elsewhere, are largely city dwellers, it is not surprising to find many of them among the Cadets. As journalists the Jews are particularly numerous, and many of the staffs of the liberal Russian papers contain more than a sprinkling of Jews.

Yet, although the liberals of Slavic blood work and fight shoulder to shoulder with the liberals of Semitic ancestry and include a demand for the equality of the Jews in their programme, they do not love them.

There is more behind this personal apathy of Russian liberals toward their Jewish fellow party members than the modicum of racial

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and social anti-Semitic prejudice which even the broadest of Russians may have inherited.

There is a feeling among a great many Russians whose sympathies are by no means bureaucratic that the Jews are not good allies. They report that they find an ever-recurring tendency among the Jewish co-workers in the liberal parties to push the narrow interests of the Jews at the expense of the broader interests of constitutionalism and democracy in Russia. They aver that they can use the Jews in the ranks of their parties, and in some higher positions too, but that they dare not let the Jews get the upper hand lest the whole party machinery be set in motion simply to grind the grist of the Jewry.

Some liberals even go so far as to call the Jews traitors to the real good of Russia. As I have explained in a previous article, while there is much discontent with their Government among the mass of the Russian people, they are determined that internal differences shall not be permitted to obstruct the prosecution of the war with Germany if they can help it. But some Russian radicals protest that their Jewish compatriots are throwing sand into the machine. "The Jews have undoubtedly had what I believe Americans call a 'dirty deal,'" a Russian liberal said to me, "and we want to do all we can for them. But they will lose our sympathy unless they meet us half-way. An unfortunately large number of them are selfish; they put their own interests above the broad programme for democracy and human rights in Russia, of which the programme for Jewish rights is only a part. 'All for one and one for all' is a good motto, but 'All for one and one for himself' is no good.

"The Jews have hurt us a great deal in America. They have been so anti-Russian that many Americans have thought they were pro-German. They have hurt Russia and they have hurt the cause of the Allies in America. Can't they distinguish between the Russian Government and the Russian people? They are not making this distinction with any clarity, and they are turning American sympathy away from Russia as a whole. But, what is more, even though we see many faults in our Government, we much prefer the sovereignty of the Czar to the domination of the Kaiser. Make no mistake about that."

Splendidly determined to beat off the Germans, who attacked them, the Russian people, with an astonishingly patient courage, have borne the smart of many annoyances from their own Government without wavering a jot from their selected course of finishing the war before calling their own rulers to account. But, unfortunately, the Jews, who greeted the war with a tremendous outcry of patriotism, have permitted themselves to be turned a good deal from their original purpose by the sting of the whip over their backs. They have shown less courage, less stamina, than the Muscovite masses; many of them have wavered and faltered. They have been more easily turned from the greater issues to the lesser than the simon-pure Russians. They have fallen into the trap of German press agents, who have fabricated promises of reforms for the Jews alleged to have come from the Russian Government and intended to make the Jews discontented.

In the past the persecution of the Jews in Russia has come mainly from the bureaucracy and from the aristocratic fringe surrounding it. The Russian *muzhik*, or peasant, except on the few occasions when the police or the priests have succeeded in rousing him to bitterness against his Hebrew neighbor, has lived side by side with the Jew of his class in perfect amity. But now, by his too zealous pursuit of his own interests to the exclusion of the common good, there is danger that the Jew will lose the sympathy of the Russian proletariat.

I even heard complaints of the efforts of Jews in America to raise funds for the relief of the Jews of Russia, on the grounds that these efforts made it appear to warm-hearted Americans that the Jews were the only great sufferers from the war in Russia.

Oddly enough, soon after my return to America I was approached by a friend of mine, a Jew, who is connected with one of the societies for the relief of Jews in the war zone, who proposed that I write to him a letter describing the suffering of the Jewish refugees from the occupied provinces of Russia. He wanted to use this letter in the campaign to raise money for the Russian Jews.

"You seem to forget," I said to him, "that not all of the thirteen million refugees from the occupied provinces are Jews. There are a good many Poles, Letts, Lithuanians, and plain Muscovites among them who have suffered no less than the Jews," and I gave him a letter in which I tried to paint a fraction of the horror of the enforced civilian exodus of Poland and the Baltic provinces.

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When they are accused of losing sight of the greater goal of constitutional and representative government for Russia in the pursuit of their racial aims, many Jews reply that they have been particularly persecuted by the Government since the beginning of the war. They declare that they have been the victims of an organized cruelty, as the Belgians have been the victims of a deliberate policy of German "frightfulness." They allege that agents of the Government have passed the word through the army that all Jews are spies, to encourage popular enmity toward the Hebrews.

I could not find facts sufficient to substantiate these charges. Almost certainly there has been more individual harshness to Jews than to any of the other peoples that make up Russia's heterogeneous whole, but mainly because there is more individual dislike for the Jews than for any other people in Russia. Jew-haters like General Yanews have done some abominable things. But I could not find sufficient evidence to convict the Government as a whole of a deliberate plan to arouse the Russians and Poles against the Jews. Undoubtedly there have been many Jewish spies justly put to death; undoubtedly some other Jews have been shot on evidence that was false. Such things happen in all wars. But, on the other hand, many apparent outrages are excusable when the facts are known. There was the case of a Jewish village in Poland from which the inhabitants had been sent off on the road with only the clothes on their backs and such few possessions as they could carry in their hands. At first glance this case seemed like an "atrocity." But the truth was that that village had been taken by the Germans and then recaptured by the Russians; that when the Germans first marched up its muddy streets, looking as invincible as an invading army always looks, the Jews, concluding that the Germans had come to stay, made up their minds to win the favor of their new masters. They gave the Germans the names of a few of the small group of Poles that lived in the village, telling the Teutons that these Poles were Russian spies. When the Russians retook that town, naturally enough the few remaining Poles "tipped off" the Russian commander to what the Jews had been doing. He shot a few Jews, and at first that was all. But the village was still almost on the firing line, and morning after morning the Russians found the wires of their field telephones cut. Later, a sentry was found with his throat slit. Overwhelming evidence pointed to the Jews as the culprits, and so, as a last measure, all the Jews were told to "move on." To have sent only the men would not have been enough, for the women were just as dangerous, and of course when the women went the children had to go too.

It is hard to sift the coals of fact from the ashes of fiction that cover the charges and counter-charges of the Jews and their enemies. On the one hand, you are told that the Jews are arch-traitors; on the other, that they are paragons of loyalty. The truth is probably about half-way between the two extremes of statement. It is doubtful if there have been any more Jewish spies in proportion to the total Hebrew population of Russia than there have been Polish spies. And many of the stories of atrocities committed by Cossacks among Jews, like many of the promises of concessions to the Jews from the Russian Government, have been fabricated on the German side of the firing line.

The real shortcoming of the Russian Jews has been a failing of moral courage. Many of them have lost their heads in the agony of the moment and have shrieked, "Revolution!" But I believe that the worst of the reaction which followed their first fever of patriotism is past. They are beginning to heed more and more the steady voices of a few leaders who have kept a clear perspective of the fundamental issues of the war. Such a leader is Maxim Vinavir, who had a seat in the First Duma and who is a prominent member of the Cadet party to-day.

"It is clear enough to me that the Allies are fighting for the Jews," Vinavir told me. "The position of the Jews is much better in the Entente countries than it is in Austria and Germany. So the Russian Jews are glad that Russia fights with the Allies. It would be terrible for them if she were fighting with Germany against England."

The Jews of Russia shudder at the thought of the Czar making a separate peace with the Kaiser. They are convinced, as are all the radicals, that a victory for Germany will help the reactionary elements in Russia and hurt them. But the Jews fear possible unpleasant complications for them from a victory for the Allies more than do the purely Slavic liberals. For the Jews feel sure that a victory for the Allies will mean a Poland with much autonomy. And they fear that a grant of such an autonomy by the present régime

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in Russia would give the Poles distinctly the whip hand over the Jews.

The conflicting ambitions of Pole and Jew complicate the position of the Jews in the liberal parties. For these parties in one plank call for the rights of the Jews and in another demand autonomy for Poland. It is somewhat as if an American party advocated extreme States' rights for the Southern States of the Union and at the same time demanded that Negroes be given all social privileges that whites enjoy.

Daring is he who tries to judge the merits of the Polish-Jewish controversy in Russia. It became acute, of course, in the eighties, when the Russian Government exiled thousands of Jews and drove them to seek refuge in Poland. The Poles had never been much at business, and the Jews soon cut a strong figure in the commercial life of Poland.

To listen to the recital of the development of the controversy first from a Pole and then from a Jew is like listening to two small boys who have been fighting and who are trying to explain how the quarrel began. Each claims that the other hit first. But, at any rate, the Polish aristocracy organized against the Jews and found the commercial boycott an effective weapon. The middle and lower class Poles, particularly of the country districts, have never been so bitter against the Jews as the upper classes, except on occasions when roused to fury by their anti-Semitic priests. But the middle and lower classes have little influence in Russian Poland.

The quarrel has not abated any during the past decade. At the elections for the First Duma the Jews, with the aid of a few Socialist Poles, beat the Polish Nationalists. Again, in 1912, at the elections for the Fourth Duma, on the advice of Milyukov, the leader of the Cadet party, the Jews of Warsaw defeated the anti-Semite Pole Kuokharshjevsky and elected the Polish Socialist Yagerla. In retaliation the Poles resorted to the commercial boycott again, and used this weapon so effectively that in one year in Warsaw the number of Jews in the telephone book was decreased by 1,400 and Jewish gas meters were cut off to the number of 4,000, albeit at the same time Polish doctors and lawyers lost many Jewish clients.

The Poles say with bitterness, but with a good deal of justice, that, although the Jews driven from Russia into Poland by an unfriendly government hated Russia, yet they felt that they had inherited Russian traditions and glory, and they sneered at the Poles who had been conquered by Russia. On the other hand, the Poles are inconsistent in seeking to discredit the Jews to-day as pro-German, for before the war the worst that the Poles had to say of the Jews was that they were *Russian*.

The Russian Poles resent all inquiry into their relations with the Jews. They insist that the Jewish question in Poland is entirely for them to settle. Yet they are aroused when a Russian bureaucrat hints that the Polish question is purely a matter of internal government in Russia. And they have decided that the Russian retreat from Warsaw was a good thing for them because it means that the adjustment of Poland's position will probably be a subject for international arbitrament at the peace conference after the war.

The Russian Jews are mostly members of parties which insist that Poland shall have a large degree of autonomy. But these same parties say that the rights of Jews in Poland shall be respected, that all citizens shall have equal rights.

If the Russian progressives gain the ascendency and secure a representative government with the guarantee of the fundamental rights of democracy, they will see that the Poles are given justice, and they will force the Poles to behave to the Jews.

The future of the Russian Jews lies, like the future of the Russian Poles and the future of the Finns, with the cause of constitutional government in Russia. That future has been clearly painted in the declaration of the Constitutional Democrats at their annual convention at Petrograd on June 19, 1915:

"We must continue, as heretofore, to point out firmly and persistently that there is only one path to a brighter future for Russia, the same path along which the entire civilized world has traveled, and that along this road there is only one solution of the Jewish question—a solution demanded by the most elementary principles of civilized government—and that is to grant them, as individuals, full civic rights, and, as a people, the right to free racial and cultural self-development."

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CO-OPERATIVE STORES

BY N. O. NELSON

A reader in Buffalo recently asked us to publish some information about the co-operative movement in this country. We forwarded her letter to Mr. N. O. Nelson, of Edwardsville, Illinois. The following article is the result. Mr. Nelson is probably the foremost American authority on the co-operative plan of production and merchandising. He established the co-operative village of Leclaire, where he has his home and carries on a manufacturing business, with headquarters at St. Louis. As will be seen from his article, he is now engaged in establishing co-operative merchandising on a practical basis in New Orleans.—THE EDITORS.

THE co-operative movement in the United States has had a checkered career in the last forty-five years; but it must be added that all countries have gone through the same course.

England is the birthplace of modern co-operation, but Robert Owen, the world reformer, carried it through two decades of disaster.

It was after his several hundred co-operative stores had failed that the famous twenty-eight weavers and Socialists of Rochdale, England, started the present successful plan in 1844. These twenty-eight pioneers insisted on self-help and independence; they contributed $5 apiece in four-cent weekly installments until they had $140. With this they bought staple groceries and retailed them at the full market price, for cash in hand, out of the little "Toad Lane Store," costing about a shilling a week rent. They had no hired help, and they found themselves possessed of about $200 when the first stock was sold. Every member received a token, showing the amount of his purchases, and at the end of three months he received credit on additional shares; on the shares he received interest. Non-members received half-dividends in money.

The essential of this Rochdale plan, which has spread the world over, was cash payments and the profit going to the purchaser instead of to capital. This unique plan was noised abroad; neighboring towns started similar stores; it was self-contained and self-acting.

Jumping a period of seventy years, Great Britain's co-operative stores now have a membership of over three million, retail sales of four hundred and eighty million dollars a year, manufacturing and wholesale business of two hundred and twenty million dollars, and annual net profits of seventy million dollars.

The same principle has spread into practically all the civilized countries, not only in storekeeping, but in manufacturing, in farmers' business, in banking, and in insurance. The system is democratic; every member has the same vote, whether he holds a single share on which he has made a small initial payment or whether he holds the maximum shares allowed. Every member pays the same price in a store and gets the same price in a productive enterprise, and whatever profits are made he gets his share according to the amount he has contributed.

Roughly estimated, there are fifty million members of co-operative associations, representing a population of two hundred and fifty million. The plan has been spreading at an accelerating rate; it doubles itself, say, every ten years.

There is no limit to its expansion. The very large profits that are earned and returned are a pressing inducement. Experience has shown that co-operative concerns secure as good managing ability at moderate pay as private concerns at high salaries.

The Americas have lagged far behind Europe and the Orient in this movement, but there is a substantial start, and it is sure to come.

In the '70s the Patrons of Husbandry movement ran largely to co-operative stores; the country was full of them. It was a protest against the supposed exorbitant prices and the rigid terms of the merchants. The Patrons took the co-operative idea, but not the Rochdale plan. They sold on credit; they sold at cost; they limited the membership to a class. Any of these motives was obstructive; combined, they made success impossible.

Innumerable stores have been started from that time to this, but rarely on the Rochdale plan—always with some Yankee improvement, always catering to the needy. The Rochdale plan is self-help, not aid to the

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helpless, not reprisal against the prosperous. The twenty-eight Rochdalers raised their own capital, they bought the goods they had cash to pay for, they sold them to members or others at full market prices. They economized expenses, got more members, more business, more capital. John Smithie, with the help of the others, did the dealing out evenings. They saved the entire gross profit, which, at the shop credit prices, was large; they had this increase as fresh capital. With this profit and new members they could lay in a more varied stock.

In these times and in this country the number to start a store with should be at least one hundred, with a thousand dollars capital. The size of the start is comparatively unimportant if the spirit, loyalty, and clear-headedness are there. At this date, as at any date in the past forty years, there are probably a thousand co-operative stores in the United States; few of them are five years old. They start with wrong ideas, without sufficient membership or capital or competent management, and, of course, fail. There are a number of stores in the United States fully established and prosperous, but probably not over one per cent of those that have been started in the last forty or fifty years.

The Johnson County store in Olathe, Kansas, is a notable survival of the Grange stores. It started in 1870, has always prospered, and is the chief store in that town or section; but, unfortunately, shareholding is limited to Patrons of Husbandry, and, these gradually dying out, it has long been merely a joint stock company, earning large profits for its few and fewer stockholders.

A co-operative association must be open to all comers on equal terms; it must give at least half-dividends to non-members; it must give an equal vote to every member regardless of his stockholding.

There are a goodly number of co-operative stores in California, in Washington, in Minnesota, and in New England; but few of them are on the genuine plan; few of them save money for their members, and few of them are of any considerable age. Much more progress has been made by productive associations, such as creameries, fruit and truck shipping, and the like; but this is another story. Canada has about a dozen stores on the Rochdale plan; but only a part of them have succeeded in saving money for the members or surviving for any length of time. The movement is led by Mr. Keen, an Englishman, who devotes a large part of his time to publishing a monthly journal, correspondence, and addresses. He will make it a success in time; devoted leadership is needed.

In Central and South America I have not learned of any attempts at co-operation.

In my own home town of Leclaire, Illinois, we started a co-operative store in 1902, strictly on the Rochdale plan. It has about one hundred and fifty members, about forty thousand dollars a year sales, and regular dividends on purchases of eight or ten per cent, besides paying interest on its capital and accumulating a surplus fund.

After thirty years of active participation in promoting co-operation, I concluded, five years ago, to begin operations in New Orleans, without adhering to the Rochdale plan as far as starting was concerned, but aiming at the same purpose. I planned to establish the business first, then organize a co-operative association later. I adhered to the Rochdale plan of buying and selling for cash, but, instead of selling at the full market price in order to accumulate capital, I sold at as low net prices as economical expenses would allow, and supplied the capital and management myself. I could see my way clear to undersell the current market prices about twenty-five per cent. The goods were sold and paid for at the counter, without any wagon deliveries. The first day's sales were $2.12; the first week's sales, $48; the sales of the ninth month, about $12,000 in the three stores then established. The sales of this year will be about one and a quarter million dollars.

At the beginning of 1915 I organized a co-operative association, made up of twenty thousand $5 shares or memberships. These can be paid for in any way down to 10-cent weekly payments; the dividend begins when the share is paid in full, at the rate of 7 per cent per annum. The association owns all of the stores, a good bakery, a good creamery, a condiment factory, and the stock and equipment on a rented farm. It has a few more than three hundred employees. It is intended to make a net profit of 2 or 3 per cent over and above expenses and interest and depreciation, which will create a free capital for expansion. Several thousand shares have already been taken, and in due time all will be taken off my hands, and thus be completely co-operative. One-fourth of the net profits are awarded to employees as dividends on

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their wages. The managers of the stores make a bond to account for the goods put in their hands, the goods being charged to the manager at selling price. The clerks are girls. We have no credit business whatever.

Recently I have opened stores in country towns near New Orleans; I have made it a condition for opening a store that two hundred householders should subscribe as members for not less than three hundred $5 shares and pay up not less than $500; only members are allowed to buy. This has worked successfully, and will be my working plan in other country towns and other city localities.

The plan which I am operating here may be used by any capitalist or by any number of people who choose to provide the money and give it the necessary business attention. The low prices insure the patronage; the membership of the people insures its permanence and its growth.

Among the practical co-operative authorities there is a divergence of opinion as to centralization in federated stores or autonomous productive associations and consumers' associations. The English and Scotch "wholesales" illustrate the former view; the copartnership associations of Great Britain and the farmers' associations of Ireland and the United States illustrate the latter. I favor the centralized body. In my own undertaking the co-operative association will be the central body for storekeeping, for manufacturing, and for farm production, radiating from the center as far as required.

POLICE PREPAREDNESS

BY GERTRUDE MATHEWS

IN the case of a great devastating calamity to New York City, what would become of the inhabitants? That is the question which the New York Police Department asked itself a year and a half ago, and on the several comprehensive answers returned a Committee of Inspectors laid down a plan of preparedness over which the Commissioner and his staff, officers and men, have been working ever since.

They have organized the force of upwards of eleven thousand uniformed officers and men, together with most of the auxiliary facilities available in the Greater City, in accordance with a practical working plan that will, they believe, check if not quite prevent destitution, suffering, loss of life and property, in case of any great emergency such as a flood, earthquake, cyclone, tidal wave, conflagration, or possible invasion.

The Commissioner and his officers who began this work of preparedness had in mind at the time the confusion following the San Francisco earthquake, the flooding of the Mississippi, and the inundation of Dayton, Ohio, where in each case the city authorities, unwarned and unprepared, were helpless to aid the citizens or even begin the restoration of normal conditions. It was necessary in each case for the National Administration to order in the Unted States army, which in turn established martial law before it could start the work of relief and rebuilding.

Not long ago, when over a block of pavement in the theatrical district of Manhattan gave way and precipitated Broadway into the subway construction below, Arthur Woods, the Police Commissioner, happened to be one of the first to arrive on the scene. He saw the police lines formed with great promptness, a temporary police precinct established in the street with headquarters designated by a green flag, an emergency desk set on the curb, police draughtsmen and clerks get quickly to work, and written orders, already prepared, being issued to commanding officers for this and that thing which it was known would be wanted. He saw telephone connection established with this temporary headquarters; messages being transmitted promptly and with no confusion. Then, in turn, as the relief measures almost automatically went into effect, he saw ambulance surgeons, nurses, pulmotors, the electric light company, the gas company, and the subway construction company all get to work, and in a very short space of time an intelligently directed, well-organized force of police, street-car men, firemen, subway builders, and gas and water employees was raising the timbers and pulling out the victims pinned fast below the wreckage.

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The Police Commissioner was leaning against the corner of a building, quietly viewing all this, when a newspaper reporter, rushing past, stopped and shouted:

"This is the best police work I have ever seen, but you don't seem to be bothering much about it."

"No," replied the Commissioner; "I did my work on it six months ago."

The above incident is a good illustration of police preparedness on new and modern lines, but it is only one of the things on which the policemen have prepared themselves and which they could do well if suddenly called upon. Lectures, study, and practice have been one means used to accomplish these results. The lecture course to inspectors and captains was started last year, and is again being given this winter at headquarters. It has proved so beneficial that the Committee on Preparedness has decided to establish a school of instruction in every district. Police officers will be assigned as teachers, and policemen will get a short course in the theory and practice of self-maintenance and relief work. They will learn the composition of a commissary department and of the quartermaster's division, and will acquaint themselves with the field camp outfit, including cooking utensils and equipment, with instructions where and how to secure them at short notice.

To demonstrate what they are learning in theory, the police officers hope one of these days to be able to establish a practice camp. Commissioner Woods himself and a goodly squad from the force attended the Plattsburgh Camp last summer, gaining many ideas therefrom to apply to police preparedness. This winter a police officer has been sent to Fort Myer, Virginia, to study and report on army methods for the care, feeding, and general handling of horses.

While the Police Department as an organization is beginning this new training, it is also being tried out on two or three companies of so-called militia, recruited from citizens. The members of this police militia will receive neither pay nor a badge, will be given neither uniform nor arms, and will not be called upon for duty unless some great emergency arises in the city. One company in the Brownsville section of Brooklyn has been meeting two nights a week to be instructed in the ordinary police duties, such as patrolling and regulating traffic. If the idea proves practical, in times of stress such companies as these would be competent to relieve the regular force of routine jobs, and leave the seasoned and better-trained men to the graver and more serious work.

As disaster almost always spells refugees, one of the principal occupations of Max F. Schmittberger, Chief Inspector, during the past year has been the study of relief. To understand how to organize this effectively and instantly required a complete knowledge of all the facilities at hand. So his committee named branch committees and started a far-reaching investigation of the city's great resources. In each precinct a local committee of police officers was asked to report on shelter. The normal and extreme capacity of all halls, lofts, school-houses, station-houses, asylums, and other public institutions was discovered. The information about each place, its location, proprietor, the nearest subway and elevated station, and remarks, are now filed in the proper classification at Headquarters. A duplicate has been sent back to each precinct. The number of people the churches would hold, the beds in the hospitals and how many more could be crowded in at a pinch, where such beds could be obtained—all such matters have been entered on separate cards. Wholesale druggists and hospital supply houses are listed. All vacant spaces which might possibly be utilized for camps have been located.

Then these same committees took up the question of food. In each precinct a full list of the bakeries was prepared, and exactly what the apparatus could do if pushed to the limit. The committee was required not only to figure out how much flour and other ingredients would be required for the amount of baking and to discover the sources of supply, but to make, accordingly, provisional contracts for such materials. Bills of fare have already been printed for twenty-one meals which could be furnished to twenty-five or fifty thousand people at a low flat cost, provided the weight of food estimated sufficient for each person were adhered to. Requisition blanks for raw materials have also been printed. Kitchens which might be impressed have been listed. Patrol wagons have been surveyed to see how they will accommodate fireless cookers. Significant change for Black Marias! Formerly an object of terror, like the policeman himself—a symbol of fear—they are to be turned into protectors, friendly black cooks which will dispense food to the starving. This is

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exactly in line with the new penology, which decrees that the policeman shall no longer be a threat, a stern, headless and heartless uniform, but shall become a human, helpful, intelligent social convenience.

But what if some night the city should suddenly awaken to find that it could not talk? Suppose the telephone and telegraph wires were put out of commission, entirely cutting off communication between great parts of the city. What could the police do then?

Already signal practice has been begun so that orders could be wigwagged or heliographed in code to Brooklyn. The police there would merely have to refer to their files and draw out the orders covering this contingency. Each precinct has its own orders. Signal stations are already selected, and the work will be extended to wireless—portable wireless as well—to acetylene and Ardois lights, gun signals, and so on, as fast as the Department has money for it. Every aeroplane owner in the city is part of a still unconscious auxiliary of the police; the name of each one, with the sort of craft he flies, and every factory where machines are made, are filed, so that an air flotilla numbering several hundred could be commandeered to use both for scouts and special messengers.

Starting from another angle, imagine, if you can, a great fire in Brooklyn, or some catastrophe equally great, which should, if you please, destroy the subways, and the bridges spanning the East River. The people of Brooklyn then would have to be transported to New York. For such a contingency the police have a navy all their own, the First Metropolitan, consisting of an immense number of privately owned motor boats carrying from seven to thirty-five—every owner and the capacity of his craft is a matter of record, even to the telephone number—and the harbor fleet of tugs, lighters, yachts, ferries, and steamers plying the Sound and river. The host would be got across without swimming.

On reaching New York shores the refugees would be sent all over the city to various homes and shelters until these were filled. If ordinary transportation lines were inadequate, there is practically an army of big conveyances which would be called. The contents of the garages and stables, public and private, motor trucks from breweries, express companies, and mercantile houses, would be quickly converted into carryalls for a large number of people. If these were injured, the police would convert motor cars into ambulances in the most approved style.

If the number of refugees exceeded the quarters under roof, tent cities would mushroom up in a jiffy under police direction, upon general lines laid down for the police camp this coming summer. New York would follow the example of the Belgian refugee camps in Holland, and segregate the sexes. The police will know exactly how to scale the camp according to the number to be cared for. They have full knowledge of the places from which lumber and materials can be assembled. The people themselves would construct them. A post-office, camp headquarters, an emergency hospital, an exchange and information bureau, will be features. A labor bureau *pro tem.* may be started, so that, for instance, if a baker or a clerk were required, the trained man would be found without delay—and "No work, no food," will be the rule. The Bureau of Missing Persons will have a special force ready to handle the inevitable cases of separation.

This splendid helpful service for shepherding a frightened flock and maintaining all the services of a city in time of terror will be a new thing. For the first time in the face of any great disaster the police will be ready to handle the city situation alone, to procure order, discipline offenders, and direct constructive measures of relief.

From the most acute angle of vision it is clear that missionaries sent to Congress to pray for preparation cannot speak half so eloquently as an object-lesson at home of preparedness for whatever may come. If this is a desirable state of efficiency, particularly to coastal cities because of war, it is equally an ambition every city should have because of peace. Preparing against disaster is a constructive peace game which the police are playing, since it stimulates the policeman's interest in the well-being of citizens and teaches him how to care for them. In the force it induces a feeling of team-work and brotherhood previously lacking and builds up an *esprit de corps*. This brotherhood has greater possibilities than the ordinary regimental affiliation, because the tasks it will be engaged in are not destructive—the work in part requires a Red Cross spirit. Promoting the constructive police idea, which is more and more imperative in ordinary times—this sort of preparedness is effective, active pacificism.

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ERASING THE HYPHEN

BY GERTRUDE BARNUM

ON first acquaintance my neighbor Mrs. James O'Sullivan commanded respect rather than affection. I say commanded, for mixed with a deference which we all accorded her was a hesitation to express opinions which might not coincide with her own. She had challenging eyes, bright blue, under shaggy eyebrows and a forehead bulging with determination. Gaunt she was, and tall, with a great reach of arm eloquent in gesture.

When this imposing person was nominated Treasurer of the Woman's Club by its Irish-American members, she won by a sizable majority over the votes cast for Mrs. Ginsberg by the opposition. The Jewish-Americans were very literally the opposition. Always arranging themselves together at opposite sides of the aisle in the Club Room, each of these factions voted solidly against any measure proposed by the other.

The husbands of the Jewish-Americans being "in business" or connected with business, it was possible for their wives to acquire silk remnants, furs, millinery, and jewelry at reduced rates. Their raiment, therefore, quite outshone the best clothes of the wives of street laborers, teamsters, and freight-handlers, who had to depend upon bargain counters at the big Fourteenth Street Store. And they were regarded with a sort of antipathy, as the "moneyed aristocracy"—so to speak.

The Hibernians might be called the Democrats of the Association, especially because of their resemblance to Tammany in developing a Boss who gradually became absolute dictator. Our Irish Treasurer, once elected, claimed and held her office for a life tenure, and used her financial advantage to further or to veto any measure calling for funds in her possession.

The balance of power in the Club lay with the Italian-Americans, who, by the nature of their religion and of the occupations of their husbands, had strong bonds with the O'Sullivan faction. They usually lined up against the aristocracy, except on minor points, upon which they were sometimes influenced by Scandinavian-Americans, German-Americans, or Bohemian-Americans.

In arranging the Club's yearly budget Mrs. O'Sullivan brooked no interference. As a collector of dues and assessments she was relentless. As a dispenser she grudged every outlay for apparent necessities, while spending royally for luxuries. To save printing and postage she forced committees to deliver oral notices, and in general matters of publicity advocated the town-crier methods of bygone days. In the matter of refreshments, decorations, pleasure excursions, or funerals, on the other hand, she provided very lavishly.

Undaunted by the limitations of our exchequer, this all-powerful Treasurer early decided to conduct the social features of the Club upon a generous scale. Railway officials, hypnotized by the sheer force of her will, contributed special trains for picnic purposes. Newspaper editors under her spell arranged for resplendent neighborhood Christmas trees. Public school authorities divided in half the price usually charged in those days for use of the school auditorium. And it was upon these social occasions that one began to feel affection as well as admiration and respect for Mrs. O'Sullivan.

The first public school entertainment arranged by the Woman's Club is a matter of neighborhood pride to this day. The committee in charge, directed by the Treasurer, who flatly refused to honor authorized orders for cash, had succeeded in arranging a programme which cost not one single penny. It was literally a festival of all nations, in which relatives and friends of Club members exhibited extraordinary talents. Unique musical instruments were unearthed from obscure corners of the tenement district, and these were played upon by Syrians, Greeks, and Hungarians. A Jewish lad sang a Yiddish lament. Germans contributed Beethoven and Schumann violin and piano solos and duets. Scandinavian, Italian, and Irish children performed folk dances of all nations in costume. In fact, this entertainment was the precursor of the international festivals which happily of late are becoming a familiar part of our community life.

At first the applause for each number had come mainly from a segregated group belonging to the nationality of the performer. For some time there was manifested a decided feeling of rivalry between these separate groups. Then came a surprising change at the end of the song by the Jewish boy. The wail of his first note caught the full attention of Mrs. O'Sullivan, and promptly she reached out a firm hand to suppress the Flaherty twins. Then, riveted to the spot, she stood

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spellbound by the strains of the Yiddish folk-song. Poignantly and plaintively they voiced the melancholy of a banished and persecuted people. The boy singer's beauty might have inspired a picture of the young Christ, with dark, shining eyes, sad and rapt, and a swaying figure appealingly frail. The music gushing from the childish throat was despair embodied, and woke responsive memories, stirred by the pure and sweet treble notes. The strains of the song, handed down from generation to generation, seemed to flow out from a primitive time when races were springing from a common fountain head; they seemed to voice the sorrows of all oppressed people; they flowed deep under ancient prejudices, for the time being at least undermining all barriers of creed and circumstance.

It was evident that the stern Celtic woman standing there was, for the first time, feeling a sense of kinship with a race which had suffered even as her own people had suffered. A hush following the end of the song was broken by a sounding snort, as Mrs. O'Sullivan blew her nose with vigor, and made that an excuse for wiping overflowing eyes. The applause from the Yiddish quarter of the hall was then augmented by stupendous stamping and clapping from the Hibernian group, led by its wildly enthusiastic Boss. And during the remainder of the evening the hands of the various racial groups spoke as one in according approval and demanding encores.

Although the sympathetic side of Mrs. O'Sullivan was thus partly revealed to all her neighbors, still it never was fully demonstrated until the husband of one of our Club members got into the clutches of the law.

One bright spring day our Mrs. Ginsberg's better half was doing an unusually lucrative push-cart business, when he was halted by a big Irish deputy backed by a hysterical Armenian woman. This rival merchant claimed ownership of the "cobweb shawls" and filigree buckles from which the peddler was reaping a rich harvest. These she swore had been stolen from a platform in the near-by freight-yards out of a box very plainly directed to her name and address. It was with difficulty that the police restrained the gathering crowd from doing violence upon the person of the shrinking Mr. Ginsberg, and as the procession followed the Armenian woman to the police court, she succeeded in chastising the little peddler with several smart blows from a board inscribed with her address, which was to constitute the most important part of her testimony against the defendant.

In this supreme hour of misfortune Mrs. Ginsberg bethought herself of the all-powerful Club Treasurer, and hastened to ask her help. She was discovered in a meat market, and after learning only the one paramount fact that a Club member's husband was in the hands of an Irish custodian of the law, this astute politician offered instant assurances of relief.

To make assurance doubly sure, she marshaled for the relief expedition the German butcher, the Italian fruiterer, and the Bohemian groceryman, counting no more upon their willingness to witness to the good character of Mr. Ginsberg than upon their ability to impress the deputy and the Justice with their political influence.

One by one these husbands of Club members, representing four nationalities, testified to the fact that Ginsberg was in good standing as a customer and as a fellow-citizen. And for final effect Mrs. O'Sullivan herself volunteered as a witness.

"Your Honor," she said, "I'd loike for to spake for this here defindant. I'm no more struck on Jews than what you are; but I do say the sheenies will git enough if they git what's rightfully comin' to thim, let alone what they're not a-deservin' of. I know this here Ginsberg is honest, and oi'll tell ye how I changed my mind. We have Jews enough, believe me, in a society I am associated with. Bein' as I am the Treasurer, I git a fine chance to size up who's square. An' no wan can say but what the Jews don't pay up rigilar, wan and all, an' Mrs. Ginsberg in particular, although I bate her in the eliction. And when her last kid was born—it was wan too many, your Honor—well, with all the expinse on him, this here defindant himself paid his wife's assissment fer yer frind Mike Flaherty's funeral. I said then, and I say now, fer a sheeny that was purty good."

In the presence of such potent witnesses for the defense, it was not difficult to convince the Judge of the veracity of the peddler's truly convincing explanation of the manner in which he had innocently become possessed of Armenian goods. And the return trip from the court-house was a triumphal procession of Irish-Americans, Jewish-Americans, German, Italian, Bohemian, Syrian, and Scandinavian Americans, whose hearts were all beating in unison with the big, warm, happy heart of our benevolent despot, Mrs. James O'Sullivan.

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BY THE WAY

The familiar story of the sharpshooter who said after each shot, "And may the Lord have mercy on your soul!" is matched by an incident described in Ian Malcolm's book "War Pictures Behind the Lines." "The captain of our guns," says the narrative, "was a priest; his altar a few empty cartridge-boxes. . . . First of all he told us to pray for all for whom he was going to offer the Mass. Then he added, 'Particularly I recommend to your prayers the German artillerymen whom we have just destroyed,' and he recited the 'De Profundis.'"

If the foregoing story has a suggestion of irony, it may be offset by the genuinely conciliatory spirit of the following memorandum which is reported to have been issued to the school-teachers of Hungary:

The Royal Hungarian Minister for Education requests all teachers to pay special attention in the coming term to the respect and honor due to our enemies; that no hatred or contempt should enter the minds of the children against the brave men with whom their fathers are in deadly combat; and that hate or contempt is not to be cultivated in the youthful minds.

A subscriber records this amusing incident as showing the pitfalls that await the would-be orator. "Billingsgate" is an accepted term for vituperative language. A speaker in a political club wished to vary this expression in chiding an opponent, and criticised him for using "fish-market language." Thereupon another member rose and protested against this phrase. "I have been a fish dealer for thirty years," he said, "and have never heard any bad language used in my business. The fish business is a respectable one and should not be the subject of a slur."

An enthusiastic believer in the open-air sleeping-room, "Good Health" reports, has built a bedchamber perched on four strong iron pipes which rise forty feet above the ground. He says the air is ten degrees cooler, and more pure, than in his room at the earth's surface.

On the blotting-paper of the writing-room in a certain hotel is printed this suggestion to its guests:

In this house you may meet those not of your own sort. They may differ from you in nationality, birth, position, possessions, education, or affinity. But we are maintaining here a small part of the world's great future democracy; we ask you, therefore, courtesy and tolerance for all alike.

Need it be said that the hotel is an American one and that the author of the kindly sentiment is a New England man?

The most interesting single exhibit at the recent automobile show in New York City, in the opinion of Mr. Herbert Chase, chief engineer of the Automobile Club of America, as given in the "Club Journal," was the Irish automobile known as the "Fergus." The lubrication system of this car, requiring a replenishment of oil only once in six months, was one of its novel features. The chassis of the "Fergus," it may be added, is said to have been the highest-priced of any in the exhibit.

Commenting on the general seriousness of Lincoln's speeches, notwithstanding his gift as a story-teller, Professor Winans in his recent book, "Public Speaking," instances this passage from the famous Cooper Union speech as an example of Lincoln's occasional humor in his greatest addresses:

But you will not abide the election of a Republican President! In that supposed event, you say, you will destroy the Union; and then, you say, the great crime of having destroyed it will be upon us! That is cool. A highwayman holds a pistol to my ear, and mutters through his teeth, "Stand and deliver, or I shall kill you, and then you will be a murderer."

Denmark has this year introduced the twenty-four hour system of keeping time. This does away with the necessity of using A.M. and P.M. to distinguish the hours of day and night. One o'clock P.M. is to be 13 o'clock, and so on up to midnight, which is to be 24 o'clock.

Most people consider the American aborigines to have been easy victims of the sharper-witted whites in matters of buying and selling. A new book about "The Original John Jacob Astor," however, declares that "the Indian was a great bargainer," and says that Astor needed all his resources to get the better of the Indians in an exchange of commodities. He is said to have been the first fur dealer to become really proficient in the languages of the Mohawk, Seneca, and Oneida tribes, and this ability to talk to the Indians in their own tongue gave him great prestige among them.

"If any man here," shouted the temperance speaker, as reported by the "Western Druggist," "can name an honest business that has been helped by the saloon, I will spend the rest of my life working for the liquor people." A man rose. "I consider my business an honest one," he said, "and it has been helped by the saloon." "What is your business?" demanded the orator. "I am, sir," was the reply, "an undertaker."

The German Emperor's palace at Corfu, recently a subject of newspaper despatches, is described as a magnificent white marble edifice, one of the most luxurious royal residences ever built. It was formerly the property of the unfortunate Empress Elizabeth of Austria, who lavished vast sums on its embellishment. It contains over a hundred rooms and is surrounded by wonderful gardens.

American readers of British newspapers find some queer things in the advertising columns. "Wanted, strong, tidy General, well recommended," for instance, does not indicate a paucity of competent leaders in the British army. "General" as thus used is merely an abbreviated expression for "general servant" or "house-worker."

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